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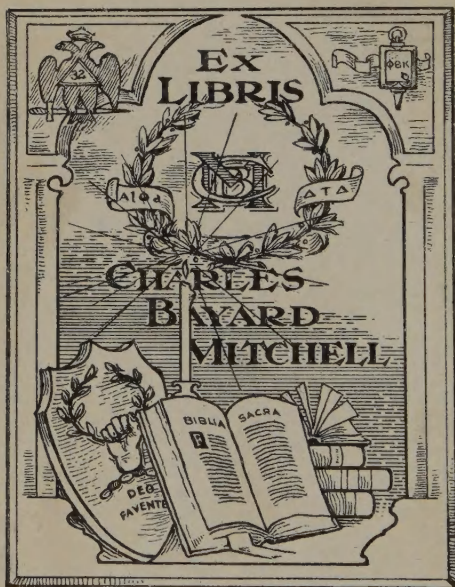
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HISTORY OF SOCIALISM
IN THE UNITED STATES

History of Socialism in the United States

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NEW YORK AND LONDON

1903

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PREFACE

WHEN John Humphrey Noyes published his "History of American Socialisms" (1870), the modern socialist movement was almost unknown in this country. The "socialisms" described by Noyes are merely the social experiments of the early schools of communism. Most of these experiments have since passed out of existence, and those still surviving can hardly be considered part of contemporaneous socialism. Socialism to-day is a vastly different movement from what it was in the days of Noyes. The numerous isolated communities, with their multiform socialisms of various hues and shades, have given way to one organized and uniform socialist movement of national scope.

The growth of the socialist movement in the United States has become an object of interest to all students of social problems. Many books have been written of recent years on the theories of socialism, but its history has received very scant attention. In 1890 A. Sartorius von Waltershausen published a scholarly work on Modern Socialism in the United States,* which contains much valuable material on the history of the movement during the period of 1850 to 1890. One year later S. Cognetti de Martiis published a book under a similar title.† The author deals with

*"Der Moderne Socialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika."

†"Il Socialismo Negli Stati Uniti."

the earlier stages of the socialist movement as well as with its more modern phases, but contributes little new information on the subject. Neither work can at this date be regarded as a complete history of the socialist movement in America, and, moreover, both are written in foreign languages, and are for this reason inaccessible to the majority of American readers. Of writers in the English language Prof. R. T. Ely was the only one to attempt a concise and intelligent history of American Socialism,* but Mr. Ely's book was written seventeen years ago, and the subject was but incidental to the thesis of his work.

And still a knowledge of the history of socialism is indispensable for the intelligent appreciation of the movement. The circumstances of its origin and the manner of its growth furnish the only reliable key to its present condition and significance, and the tendencies of its future development.

In the preparation of this work I have endeavored to fill a gap in the literature on the subject, and I now present it to the public in the hope that it may contribute in some degree to a better understanding of a movement which is fast becoming an important factor in the social and political life of our country.

*"The Labor Movement in America," 1886.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE nineteenth century was marked by a period of industrial revolution unprecedented in the annals of history. The small manufacture of preceding ages was swept away by the gigantic factory system of modern times. The railroad, telegraph, and steamboat tore down all geographical barriers, and united the entire civilized world into one great international market, while the huge machine and the power of steam and electricity increased the productivity of labor a hundredfold, and created a fabulous mass of wealth.

But this process of transformation brought in its wake a variety of new social problems.

While a comparatively small number of men fell heir to all the benefits of the process, the greater part of the population often reaped nothing but suffering and privation from the rich harvest.

The invention of new and perfected machinery reduced many skilled mechanics to the ranks of common laborers, and deprived many more of work and wages permanently, or at least during the long and tedious process of "readjustment."

The planless mode of production and reckless competition among the captains of industry produced alternately seasons of feverish activity and intense work, and seasons of enforced idleness, which assumed alarming proportions during the oft-recurring periods of industrial depression.

The luxury, splendor, and refinement of the possessing classes found their counterpart in the destitution, misery, and ignorance of the working classes, and the social contrasts were more glaring than in any other period in history.

These evils of modern civilization engaged the attention of the most earnest social philosophers and reformers of the last century, and numerous remedial systems and theories were suggested by them. The most radical of these, the theory which discerns the root of all evils in competitive industry and wage labor, and advocates the reconstruction of our entire economic system on the basis of a cooperative mode of production, received the name Socialism.

Socialism, like most other social theories and movements, passed through many stages of development before it reached its modern aspect.

In its first phases, socialism was a humanitarian rather than a political movement. The early socialists did not analyze the new system of production and did not penetrate into its historical significance or tendencies. The evils of that system appeared to them as arbitrary deviations from the "eternal principles" of "natural law," justice, and reason, and the social system itself as a clumsy and malicious contrivance of the dominant powers in society.

True to their theory that social systems are made and unmade by the deliberate acts of men, they usually invented a more or less fantastic scheme of social organization supposed to be free from the abuses of modern civilization, and invited humanity at large to adopt it.

The scheme was, as a rule, unfolded by its author by means of description of a fictitious country with a mode of life and form of government to suit his own ideas of justice and reason, and the favorite form of the description was the novel. The happy country thus described was the Utopia (Greek for Nowhere), hence the designation of the author as "utopian."

That these theories should have frequently led in practise to the organization of communistic societies as a social experiment, was but natural and logical.

The utopian socialists knew of no reason why their plans of social organization should not work in a more limited

sphere just as satisfactorily as on a national scale, and they fondly hoped that they would gradually convert the entire world to their system by a practical demonstration of its feasibility and benefits in a miniature society.

Utopian socialism was quite in accord with the idealistic philosophy of the French Encyclopedists, and lasted as long as that philosophy retained its sway.

The middle of the last century, however, witnessed a great change in all domains of human thought; speculation gave way to research, and positivism invaded all fields of science, ruthlessly destroying old idealisms and radically revolutionizing former views and methods.

At the same time the mysteries and intricacies of the capitalist system of production were gradually unfolding themselves, and the adepts of the young social science began to feel that their theories and systems required a thorough revision.

This great task was accomplished toward the end of the forties of the last century chiefly through the efforts of Karl Marx, the founder of modern socialism. Marx did for sociology what Darwin did later for biology: he took it out from the domain of vague speculation and placed it on the more solid basis of analysis, or, to borrow an expression from Professor Sombart,* he introduced realism in sociology.

The social theories of Karl Marx and the movement based on them are styled *Modern* or *Scientific* Socialism in contradistinction to *Utopian* socialism.

Modern socialism proceeds from the theory that the social and political structure of society at any given time and place is not the result of the free and arbitrary choice of men, but the legitimate outcome of a definite process of historical development, and that the underlying foundation of such structure is at all times the economic basis upon which society is organized.

* Werner Sombart, "Socialism and the Social Movement of the Nineteenth Century," 1898.

As a logical sequence from these premises, it follows that a form of society will not be changed at any given time unless the economic development has made it ripe for the change, and that the future of human society must be looked for, not in the ingenuous schemes or inventions of any social philosopher, but in the tendencies of the economic development.

Contemporary socialism thus differs from the early utopian phase of the movement in all substantial points. It does not base its hopes on the good-will or intelligence of men, but on the modern tendency toward socialization of the industries. It does not offer a fantastic scheme of a perfect social structure, but advances a realistic theory of gradual social progress. It does not address its appeals to humanity at large, but confines itself principally to the working class, as the class primarily interested in the impending social change. It does not experiment in miniature social communities, but directs its efforts toward the industrial and political organization of the working class, so as to enable that class to assume the control of the economic and political affairs of society when the time will be ripe for the change.

Both aspects of the movement have been well represented in the history of socialism in the United States, and we will treat of them separately, devoting the first part of this work to an account of utopian socialism and communistic experiments, and the second part to the history of modern socialism.

Part I

EARLY SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTION

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISTIC EXPERIMENTS

WE noted in the General Introduction that the theories of utopian socialism frequently led to experiments in communistic settlements, and we may add here that these theories gained more or less popularity in the United States in a measure as the scheme was more or less closely associated with such experiments. Thus the system of the great French utopian, Charles Saint-Simon, that had for its principal aim the organization of national and international industry on a scientific basis, and was a universal social philosophy which did not admit of experiments on a miniature scale, found no echo in the United States. The philosophy of Robert Owen, in which communities are not an essential factor, but play an important part as preparatory schools for the communistic *régime* and as object lessons in the communistic mode of life, gained a considerable foothold in the United States, altho it did not attain the same degree of strength or exercise the same measure of influence on social thought as it did in the country of its birth, England. On the other hand, the system of the French utopian, Charles Fourier, which was based principally upon social organizations on a small scale, developed more strength in this country than it did in France, while the purely experimental Icarian movement, altho originating in France, found its practical application exclusively in the United States.

The causes which contributed to make this country the chief theater of experiments of the utopian socialists of all nations were many.

The social experimenters as a rule hoped that their settlement would gradually develop into a complete society with a higher order of civilization. For that purpose they needed large tracts of cheap land in places removed from the corrupting influences of modern life, and America abounded in such lands at the beginning and in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Besides, the industrial and agricultural possibilities of the young and growing country, its political liberty and freedom of conscience, had an irresistible charm for these pioneers of the new order of things.

The number of communistic and semi-communistic colonies founded in this country during the nineteenth century is largely a matter of speculation.

Noyes,* writing in 1869, gives an account of about sixty communities exclusive of the Shaker societies. In 1875 Nordhoff † enumerated eighteen Shaker societies embracing fifty-eight separate "families" or communes, and twelve other, chiefly religious, communities, which, however, included three of those mentioned by Noyes; and three years later Mr. Hinds ‡ recorded sixteen new communities, partly in existence and partly in process of formation. Mr.

*"History of American Socialisms," by John Humphrey Noyes.

†"The Communistic Societies of the United States," by Charles Nordhoff.

‡"American Communities," by William A. Hinds. The greater portion of the first part of this book was already written when a second revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Hinds' work appeared from the press of Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago. The new edition includes an account of the Owenite and Fourieristic experiments which were not touched upon in the first edition; it traces the history of the most important religious communities, as well as that of the Icarian communities, down to date; adds more than twenty new communities to those described by previous authors; and is now

Shaw *, in 1884, asserted that in the course of his researches he had come across at least fifty communities organized since 1870, and the Rev. Mr. Kent,† writing in 1901, described twenty-five new communities and brotherhoods established in our own days.

Basing our estimates on the fragmentary accounts of these authors, we may safely assume that several hundred communities existed in different parts of the United States during the last century, and that the number of persons who at one time or another participated in the experiments ran into the hundreds of thousands.

The history of these numerous communities is as varied as their classification with reference to their origin and particular object, but here we are concerned only with such of them which formed part of a general movement directly or indirectly connected with a distinct school of utopian socialism. These we may divide into the following four leading groups:

I. SECTARIAN COMMUNITIES

This group is comprised of the Shakers, the Perfectionists, and several communities organized by German immigrants. Their primary object was in all cases the free and unhampered exercise of their peculiar religious beliefs. Their communism was but a secondary feature, introduced in some instances as part of their religious system, and in others as a measure to preserve the integrity of their sect and to remove their members from the influences of the infidel world.

They had no general theories of social reconstruction; altogether the most elaborate and complete account of American communities.

* "Icaria, a Chapter in the History of Communism," by Albert Shaw, Ph. D.

† "Co-operative Communities in the United States," by Rev. Alexander Kent, in Bulletin of Department of Labor, No. 35, July, 1901.

they made no propaganda for communism, and established their settlements, not as an object-lesson for their neighbors, but as a retreat for themselves. They are usually styled *Religious Communities* in the literature on the subject, but we hardly think this designation expressive of their aims and character. What distinguishes them from other communities is, not the fact that they were religious, for so were many communities of the other groups, but the fact that their religious beliefs and practises were of a peculiar and sectarian nature.

These communities are the earliest in point of time, the strongest in point of numbers, and many of them still survive. But in the history of the socialist movement they played but a secondary part, and for this reason we will limit ourselves here to a brief account of the most important and typical of them.

2. THE OWENITE COMMUNITIES

This was a group of communities founded either by Owen directly or under the influence of his agitation. They were the first communities organized in this country in furtherance of a general social theory and as a means of propaganda. Only twelve of the group were rescued from oblivion, altho in all likelihood many more existed. The period covered by these experiments is that from the year 1825 to the year 1830.

3. THE FOURIERISTIC COMMUNITIES

These communities were organized by American followers of Charles Fourier. In their plan of organization they strove to approach as closely as possible the ideal of the industrial communities designated as "Phalanxes" in Fourier's system, and most of them styled themselves Phalanxes.

Fourierism was the first socialist system to attain the dignity of a national movement in the United States. The

movement lasted about a decade, from 1840 to 1850, and produced over forty social experiments in different parts of the country.

4. THE ICARIAN COMMUNITIES

The Icarian settlements were a series of experiments growing out from a single enterprise of the Frenchman Étienne Cabet, and altho we meet them in five different States, at different times and under different names, they must be considered as one community.

The original community "Icaria" was founded in 1848, and its numerous offsprings, formed by a constant process of schisms and migrations, prolonged its existence for almost half a century.

The Icarian movement developed some strength in the fifties of the last century, and was of but little significance after that period. Altho conducted on American soil, the experiment was confined almost exclusively to Frenchmen, and had little or no influence on the modern reform movements.

CHAPTER I

Sectarian Communities

I.—THE SHAKERS

AMONG the sectarian communities of the United States, the Society of the Shakers is one of the oldest in existence. The first Shaker settlement was established at Watervliet, New York, in 1776. The founder of the movement, and first "leader" of the society, was "Mother" Ann Lee, an illiterate Englishwoman, who, with a handful of followers, came to this country in 1774 to escape religious persecution at home.

Ann Lee died in 1784, and was succeeded by James Whitaker, Joseph Meacham, and Lucy Wright, under whose administration the society made great gains in members and wealth, and branched out into a number of communities. What strengthened the movement most were the epidemic revivals occurring periodically toward the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and especially the unparalleled religious excitement which broke out in Kentucky in 1800 and lasted several years.

The Shaker societies seem to have reached their zenith in the second quarter of the last century, when their combined membership exceeded 5,000. In 1874 Nordhoff reports the total Shaker population of this country as 2,415; this figure was reduced to 1,728 in 1890, according to census returns, and scarcely more than 1,000 survive at present.

The Shakers are divided into three classes or orders:

1. THE NOVITIATE.—These are communicants of the Shaker church, officially styled the "Millennial Church" or "United Society of Believers," but they live outside of the society and manage their own temporal concerns.

2. THE JUNIORS.—These are members on probation. They reside within the society and temporarily relinquish

their individual property, but they may return to the world and resume their property at any time.

3. *THE SENIORS, OR CHURCH ORDER.*—This order consists of persons who have absolutely parted with their property and irrevocably devoted themselves to the service of the Shaker church.

The unit of organization of the Shaker society is the "family." This consists of men and women living together, and ranging in number from very few to a hundred and more. They maintain a common household, and as a rule conduct one or more industries in addition to agricultural pursuits.

The spiritual affairs of the family are administered by "elders," and the temporal affairs by "deacons."

Several families, usually four, constitute a "society."

The central government is vested in an executive board styled the "ministry" or "bishopric," and consisting of two elder brothers and two elder sisters; the head of the ministry is called the "leading elder" or "leading character." The ministry appoints the deacons, and in conjunction with them the "caretakers," or foremen, of their various branches of industry.

The leading elder fills vacancies in the ministry, and designates his own successor. Each officer of the society, spiritual or temporal, takes orders from his immediate superior, and women are represented on all administrative bodies in the same manner as the men.

The principal tenet of their peculiar creed is, that God is a dual being, male and female, Jesus representing the male element, and Ann Lee the female element. Man, created in the image of God, was originally also of a dual character. The separation of sexes took place when Adam asked for a companion, and God, yielding to the request, cut out Eve from his body. This was the first sin committed by man. The Shakers, therefore, regard marriage as appertaining to a lower order of existence, and are strict celibatarians.

The religious history of mankind they divide into four cy-

cles, each having a separate heaven and hell. The first includes the period from Adam to Noah, the second embraces the Jews until the arrival of Jesus, the third extends to the period of Ann Lee. The fourth, or "heaven of last dispensation," is now in process of formation and will include all Shakers.

They profess to hold communion with the spirit world, and the revelations received by them from those quarters are generally heralded by violent contortions of their bodies. It is this peculiar feature which earned for them first the appellation of "Shaking Quakers," and then of "Shakers."

The Shakers lead a well-ordered and healthful mode of life. They retire at about nine o'clock and rise at five. They breakfast at six, dine at twelve, and sup at six. Their diet is simple but sufficient. Their favorite dishes are vegetables and fruit, and many discard meat altogether. They eat in a general dining-hall, the men and women sitting at separate tables.

Their dormitories, dining-halls, and shops are scrupulously clean, and strictest order prevails everywhere.

Their amusements are few and of a very quiet order: instrumental music is looked upon with disfavor, reading is restricted to useful and instructive topics. Singing of hymns and discourses in the assembly-room are frequent, and lately they are said to have taken to quiet outdoor sports, such as picnics, croquet, and tennis.

The communism of the Shakers is part of their religious system, but it really extends to the family only. There is no community of property in the Shaker society as a whole, and one family may possess great wealth, while the other may be comparatively poor.

The Shakers are at present divided into fifteen societies, scattered through nine States of the Union. Their aggregate wealth is estimated in millions, their landed possessions alone amounting to over 100,000 acres.

II.—THE HARMONY SOCIETY

WITHIN a few miles of Pittsburg, in the State of Pennsylvania, lies a very peculiar village, consisting of about 100 dwelling-houses. It is owned jointly by a few old men of puritanical habits, who exercise a rather rigid supervision over the mode of life of the inhabitants.

The name of the place is Economy, and the few village autocrats are the last survivors of an erstwhile hustling and prosperous community.

The community, officially called the "Harmony Society," is more popularly known as the "Rappist Community," and has an eventful history, covering a period of almost a full century.

Its founder, George Rapp, was the leader of a religious sect in Würtemberg denominated "Separatists." The peculiar beliefs of the sect provoked the persecution of the clergy and government, and in 1804 Rapp, with about 600 sturdy adherents, left Germany and came to this country by way of Baltimore and Philadelphia. The main body of immigrants were farmers and mechanics, but there were also among them some men of education, and one of them, Frederick Reichert, an adopted son of George Rapp, possessed considerable artistic taste and great administrative talent.

The first community established by them was "Harmony," in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, and within a few years they erected a number of dwelling-houses, a church, a schoolhouse, some mills and workshops, and cleared several hundred acres of land.

But despite their apparent prosperity, they came to the conclusion that the site of the settlement had not been well chosen. In 1814 they sold their land with all on it for \$100,000, and removed to Posey County, Indiana, where they purchased a tract of 30,000 acres.

Their new home was soon improved and built up, and be-

came an important business center for the surrounding country. They grew in wealth and power, and received large accretions of members from Germany, so that in 1824 their community was said to comprise about 1,000 persons.

In that year they removed again. Malarial fevers infesting their settlement had caused them to look for a purchaser for some time, and when at last they found one in the person of Robert Owen, they bought the property they still hold at Economy, and took possession of it at once.

How rapidly they developed their new village, appears from an account of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who visited them in 1826. He was full of praise of the neatness and good order of the village, of the beauty of the houses, the excellent arrangement of the shops and factories, and the apparent happiness of the settlers.

The peaceful course of their lives was only once seriously disturbed. In 1831 a "Count Maximilian de Leon" arrived at Economy in gorgeous attire and surrounded by a suite of followers. He pretended to be in accord with the religious views of the settlers, and announced his desire to join them.

The simple-minded people welcomed him most cordially, and admitted him to their society without any investigation. "Count de Leon," whose real name was Bernhard Müller, and who was a plain adventurer, soon commenced to undermine the beliefs of the Harmonists, and to advocate worldly temptations and pleasures. By his smooth and insinuating manners he gained the support of many members, and when a separation became inevitable, and the adherents of each faction were counted, it was found that 500 members had remained true to "Father Rapp," while 250 declared for the "Count." The minority party received the sum of \$105,000 for their share in the common property, and, with De Leon at their head, removed to Phillipsburg, where they attempted to establish a community of their own. But their leader forsook them, escaping with their funds to Alexandria, on

the Red River, where he died of cholera in 1833, and the seceders disbanded.

The Economists in the meanwhile recovered their prosperity very rapidly. At the outbreak of the civil war they had about half a million dollars in cash, which, for better safety, they buried in their yards until the war was over.

The Harmonists were not celibatarians at the outset of their career, but in 1807, during a strong "revival of religion," the men and women of one accord determined to dissolve their marriage ties, and henceforward "no more marriages were contracted in Harmony, and no more children were born."

Outside of their celibacy, the Harmonists were by no means ascetics: they enjoyed a good meal and a glass of good beer, and in the earlier stages of their history, when the members were more numerous and youthful, they led a gay and merry life.

Their communism, like that of the Shakers, is part of their religious system, and is limited to the members of their own community and church. When their own population was large and their pursuits were few, they employed no hired labor, but as their numbers dwindled down and their industries developed, the wage-workers at times outnumbered their members ten to one, and at present are, in fact, a limited partnership of capitalists owning lands, oil-wells, and stocks in various railroad, banking, and mining corporations.

III.—ZOAR

THE community of Zoar, like that of Economy, was founded by Separatist emigrants from Würtemberg.

For a number of years the founders of the sect carried on an obstinate feud with the government of their country, whose enmity they had provoked by their dissenting religious doctrines, but principally by their refusal to serve in the army and to educate their children in the public schools.

They were fined and sent to prison, and driven from village to village, until they determined to look to the hospitable shores of the United States for a refuge from the persecutions of their intolerant fatherland. The generous assistance of some wealthy English Quakers enabled them to pay their passage, and in 1817 the first detachment of the society, about 200 in number, arrived in Philadelphia, headed by their chosen leader, Joseph Bäumeler.

Immediately upon their arrival they purchased several thousand acres of land in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, and went to work clearing much of the land and erecting a number of log houses for the members of the community, many of whom had remained behind working for neighboring farmers. This village thus founded by them they called Zoar.

The land, on which but a small cash payment had been made, was purchased in the name of Joseph Bäumeler, with the understanding that a parcel was to be assigned to each member, to be worked and paid off by him individually.

They had no intention of forming a communistic society. But they had a number of old and feeble members among them who found it difficult to make their farms pay by their own efforts, and it soon became apparent that many members would be compelled to scatter, and that the enterprise would fail unless it was established on a different foundation.

In April, 1819, after a thorough discussion of the situation, they resolved accordingly to establish a community of goods and efforts, and from that time on they prospered. They established a blacksmith's, carpenter's and joiner's shop, kept cattle, and earned a little money from work done for neighboring farmers.

The building of a canal through their domain in 1827 was a piece of rare good fortune to them. They obtained a contract to do part of the work for the sum of \$21,000, and se-

cured a market for many of their products. Within a short time they lifted the mortgage on their property, and purchased additional lands.

Much of their early success the Zoarites undoubtedly owed to the wise administration of their leader, Joseph Bäumeler. Bäumeler, who in later years spelled his name Bimeler, was a man of little education, but of great natural gifts. He was the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the community. He had the general supervision of its affairs, attended to all its dealings with the outside world, and on Sundays delivered discourses to the Zoarites on religion and all other conceivable topics. Many of these discourses were collected and printed after his death. They make three ponderous octavo volumes, and were highly treasured by his followers.

The Zoarites prohibited marriage at first, but after ten or twelve years of celibate life they came to the conclusion that it was not good for man to be alone, and revoked the prohibition.

It is related that this change of sentiment on the question of marriage was caused by the fact that Joseph Bimeler, at a rather advanced age, fell in love with a pretty maiden who had been assigned by the community to wait on him. But be this as it may, the fact is that the leader of Zoar was one of the first to make use of the new privilege.

In 1832 the society was incorporated under the laws of Ohio, adopting the name of "The Society of Separatists of Zoar."

Under their constitution the government of the society's affairs was vested in three trustees, who appointed the superintendents of their different industries and assigned each member to a certain kind of work, always taking into consideration the inclinations and aptitudes of the member.

They had a standing arbitration committee of five, to whom all disputes within the community were referred, and

annual village meetings at which all members of legal age, female as well as male, had a vote.

The highest point in their development they seem to have reached shortly after their incorporation, when their membership exceeded 500. In 1874, according to Nordhoff, they still had about 300 members, and were worth over a million dollars.

As long as the community was poor and struggling hard for its existence, perfect harmony prevailed among the members, but when it had acquired considerable wealth, the temptation grew stronger, and efforts were made from time to time by discontented members to bring about the dissolution of the community and a division of its property. Thus in 1851, and again in 1862, suits for partition were brought in the Ohio courts by former members, but the courts upheld the community, and dismissed the suits of the complainants.

The movement for a dissolution of the community continued, however, and in 1895 it acquired much strength from the support of Levi Bimeler, a descendant of the venerated founder of Zoar, and himself an influential member of the community. The discussion continued for three years, and at times waxed very warm and acrimonious, until, at the annual village meeting of 1898, the motion to dissolve was finally carried.

Three members were by general agreement elected commissioners to effect an equitable division, and the amount awarded to each member was about \$1,500.

IV.—THE AMANA COMMUNITY

THE Amana Community is the strongest of the surviving communistic societies in point of numbers. The community was founded by a religious sect denominated "The True Inspiration Society," which is said to have originated in Germany in the early part of the eighteenth century. The principal dogma of their faith is that God from time to

time still inspires certain persons, who thus become direct instruments of his will.

Between 1820 and 1840 a large number of believers gathered around the principal "instruments" of the society, Christian Metz and Barbara Heynemann, in a place called Armenburg, in Germany. They found employment in the factories of the neighborhood, and their material existence seemed pretty well secured, but the increasing persecution on the part of the authorities made their further stay in Armenburg impossible.

At this juncture Metz had two successive inspirations, one directing him to lead the entire congregation out of Germany, and the other pointing to the United States as the future home of the inspirationists.

Toward the end of 1842 Metz, accompanied by four other members of the congregation, accordingly arrived in New York, and bought about 5,000 acres of land near Buffalo. Within the next two years they were joined by no less than 600 of their brethren from Germany, and settling on the land purchased by Metz, they formed the community Eben-Ezer.

Like the Zoarites, they did not contemplate, when they first emigrated, the establishment of a communistic settlement. But among their members there were some who were accustomed to factory labor, and to whom agricultural life was distasteful. In order to retain these members, it was necessary to build workshops and factories on their land, and this could only be accomplished by their common efforts and means.

"We were commanded at this time by inspiration," relates one of their members, "to put all our means together and live in community, and we soon saw that we could not have got on or kept together on any other plan." *

Their membership increased rapidly, and they soon found that their land was not sufficient for the requirements of their growing community.

* Quoted in Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies."

Under the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that they were "commanded by inspiration to remove to the West."

In 1855 they purchased about 20,000 acres of land near Davenport, in the State of Iowa, and there established the Amana Society, which is still in existence and flourishing, having more than doubled its original population. The community at present consists of seven separate villages, with a total of about 1,800 inhabitants.*

The names of the villages are Amana, East Amana, Middle Amana, Amana near the Hill, West Amana, South Amana, and Homestead. They lie about a mile and a half apart, and each has its separate schoolhouse, store, tavern, shops, and factories. Each village manages its own affairs and keeps its own accounts, but the latter are sent in annually to the headquarters at Amana for verification. The foremen and elders of the village meet every day in consultation, lay out the work for the next day, and assign the members to the various branches of the work according to the requirements of the season. The central government of the community is vested in thirteen trustees elected annually by the vote of all male members. The trustees elect a president.

Each family lives in a separate house. But they have common dining-halls, usually several in each village, where the men and women eat at different tables, to "prevent silly conversation and trifling conduct."

To supply them with clothing, an allowance is made to every member of the community; the adult man receives from \$40 to \$100 per year, according as his position and occupation necessitates more or less clothing; for each adult female the allowances are from \$25 to \$30 a year, and for children from \$5 to \$10.

The village store contains all goods used by the Amanites,

* "Amana, a Study of Religious Communism," by Richard T. Ely, in *Harper's Monthly* for October, 1902.

and the members may take what they please, being charged with the price of the article until the limit of the allowance has been reached. If a balance remains in favor of a member, it is carried over to his credit for the next year.

In their schools they pay equal attention to the ordinary branches of elementary education and to manual training. Children from the age of seven to fourteen attend school during the entire year; from fourteen to twenty, during the winter season only. They dress and live plainly but substantially, and enjoy five hearty meals a day. They are very easy-going in their work, and in harvest time they employ much hired help.

They do not prohibit marriage, but neither do they encourage it, and it is recorded that they even once expelled from the society their great divine "instrument," Barbara Heynemann, "for having too kind an eye on the young men."

Marriage is only permitted on the consent of the trustees and after the groom has attained the age of twenty-four. Their weddings are very gloomy ceremonies, and somewhat resemble their funeral services.

V.—BETHEL AND AURORA

THE village of Bethel, in Shelby County, Missouri, and that of Aurora, near Portland, Oregon, were sister communities, both owing their existence to Dr. Keil. Keil had a rather variegated career. Born in Prussia in 1812, he carried on the trade of man-milliner until he emigrated to the United States. After a brief stay in New York, he landed in Pittsburg, where he held himself out as a physician, practised "magnetic cures," and professed to be the possessor of a wonderful book of prescriptions written with human blood. At the age of thirty he underwent a sudden change: he became religious, burned his book, and joined the Methodist Church, which, however, he soon abandoned, forming a sect of his own.

He gathered around him a considerable following of simple-minded people, mostly Germans and "Pennsylvania Dutch," and in 1844 he was joined by a number of the seceders from Economy who had been abandoned by the faithless "Count de Leon."

It was at that time that Keil and his followers conceived the idea of establishing a communistic settlement, and for that purpose purchased about 2,500 acres of land in Shelby County, Missouri. This was the beginning of Bethel. The settlers seem to have had very little means, but an inexhaustible store of industry and endurance. After a few years, the greater portion of their land was under cultivation; they built a woolen mill, grist-mill, sawmill, several shops, a church, and a general store. They added over 1,500 acres to their possessions, a post-office was established for them by the Government, and within ten years their settlement developed into a town with a population of about 650 persons.

But the restless spirit of Keil impelled him to new experiments. In 1855 we find him at the head of about eighty settlers from Bethel on the way to the Pacific coast in quest of cheap and fertile land. During the next year he organized the community of Aurora in Oregon. The membership of the new settlement, partly recruited from the outside and partly augmented by emigration from Bethel, soon reached about 400. They acquired over 18,000 acres of land in different counties of Oregon, duplicated almost all of the industries carried on in Bethel, and in addition engaged largely in the growing and drying of fruit.

The form of government and mode of life of both communities was almost identical. Keil was president of both, and was assisted in the administration of each village by a board of trustees. Up to 1872 all property in Bethel and Aurora stood in the individual name of Dr. Keil, but in that year he divided the land, and gave to each adult member a title-deed of one parcel. But the partition was a mere formality, and

the management of the villages remained purely communistic as before.

Their members were allowed to choose their own occupations, and to change them at will. They had no regular hours of work, nor any actual supervision, their foremen and superintendents being developed by a process of natural selection.

They not only tolerated, but encouraged marriage, and maintained a strict family life.

Each family had a separate house, and received a number of pigs and cows sufficient for its needs. Flour and other articles of food were furnished by the community in any quantity desired, and clothing and other goods contained in the general store were delivered to the members on request. They kept accounts of their dealings with outsiders, but had no records of the transactions between the community and members.

Their existence was exceedingly peaceful and their history is not marked by any stirring or exciting events. They had but few accessions from the outside, but managed to keep their own members pretty well. Once in a while a member would express his desire to leave them, and to such they would give his equitable share in property or cash, and allow him to depart.

Of all religious communities, Bethel and Aurora had the loosest form of organization; they were held together principally by the personal influence of their founder, and disintegrated soon after his death. Dr. Keil died in 1877, Bethel dissolved in 1880, and Aurora in 1881.

VI.—THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY

THE first historian of communism in the United States was himself the founder of one of the most noteworthy communistic societies. The Oneida Community was the creation of John Humphrey Noyes.

Noyes was born in Brattleboro, Vt., in 1811. He graduated from Dartmouth College and took up the study of law, but soon turned to theology, taking courses at Andover and Yale. During his theological studies he evolved the set of religious doctrines which later received the name of Perfectionism.

In 1834 he returned to Putney, Vt., the residence of his parents, and gradually gathered around him a little circle of followers. His first permanent adherents were his mother, two sisters, and a brother; then came the wives of himself and his brother and the husbands of his sisters; then came several others, until in 1847 he numbered about forty followers.

The movement was at first purely religious, and the Perfectionists had no sympathy for socialism. But the evolution of their religious doctrines, coupled with the reading of the *Harbinger* and other Fourieristic publications, gradually led them to communism, and in 1848 they established a communistic settlement at Oneida, in the State of New York.

During the first years of the experiment they had to cope with great difficulties, and succeeded but poorly. Noyes and his followers, most of whom seem to have been men of means, had invested in the enterprise up to January 1, 1857, over \$107,000, and the first inventory of the community taken on that day showed a total of assets amounting to little over \$67,000, a clear loss of about \$40,000.

But during that time they had gained valuable experience, and had organized their industries on an efficient and profitable basis. They manufactured steel traps, traveling bags and satchels, put up preserved fruit, and engaged in the manufacture of silk. Whatever they undertook, they did carefully and thoroughly, and their goods soon acquired a high reputation in the market.

Their inventory for the year 1857, for the first time, showed a small net profit, but during the ten years following, their profit exceeded the sum of \$180,000.

In the mean time they bought more land and gained new members, and in 1874 they owned about 900 acres of land and their membership consisted of about 300 persons.

They had several communities originally, but by 1857 they concentrated all their members in Oneida and Wallingford, Conn.

The Oneida Community was the only important sectarian community of purely American origin. The bulk of the members consisted of New England farmers and mechanics, but they also had among them a large number of professional men—physicians, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, etc.—and their standard of culture and education was considerably above the average.

Their affairs were administered by twenty-one standing committees, and they had forty-eight heads of various industrial departments. But notwithstanding the apparent complexity of the system, their government was purely democratic and worked well.

The most striking features of the Perfectionists were their religious doctrines, their views on marriage, their literature, and the institution of "mutual criticism."

They held that the second advent of Christ took place at the period of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that at that time there was a primary resurrection and judgment in the spirit world; that the final kingdom of God then began in the heavens, and that the manifestation of that kingdom in the visible world is now approaching; that a church on earth is rising to meet the approaching kingdom in the heavens; that the element of connection between these two churches is inspiration or communion with God, which leads to perfect holiness—complete salvation from sin—hence their name of Perfectionists.

The following definition of Perfectionism is quoted by Nordhoff as coming from one of the believers:

"As the doctrine of temperance is total abstinence from alcoholic drinks, and the doctrine of antislavery is imme-

diat abolition of human bondage, so the doctrine of Perfectionism is immediate and total cessation of sin."

Their communistic theories extended to persons as well as to property, and they rejected monogamous marriage just as vigorously as they rejected individual ownership of property.

Their marriage system was a combination of polygamy and polyandry. Within the limits of the community all men were considered the husbands of all women, and cohabited with each other promiscuously. The members were, however, not obliged to receive the attention of those they did not like.

They pretended to conduct the propagation of children on a scientific basis, preferably pairing the young of one sex with the aged of the other. This system they styled the "complex marriage" system.

They strongly resented the charge of licentiousness, and exacted "holiness of heart" before permitting "liberty of love."

The children were left in the custody of their mothers until they were weaned, when they were placed in the general nursery under the care of special nurses, and outside observers attested that they were a healthy-looking, merry set of children.

They maintained an excellent system of schools, and sent many of their young men to college to fit them for such professional callings as they needed within the community.

For the propaganda of their ideas, they published a number of books and periodicals, the most popular among which was the *Oneida Circular*. This was a weekly magazine, gotten up in excellent style, and was published on these singular terms, printed at the head of its columns:

"The Circular is sent to all applicants, whether they pay or not. It costs and is worth at least two dollars per volume. Those who want it and ought to have it are divisible

into three classes, viz.: 1, those who can not afford to pay two dollars; 2, those who can afford to pay only two dollars; and 3, those who can afford and pay more than two dollars. The first ought to have it free; the second ought to pay the cost of it; and the third ought to pay enough more than the cost to make up the deficiencies of the first. This is the law of Communism."

"Mutual Criticism" was said to have been invented by Noyes in his college days, and became a most important institution in the Oneida Community from the very beginning of its existence. It took the place of trials and punishments, and was regarded by the Perfectionists not only as a potent corrective of all moral delinquencies, but also as a cure for a number of physical ailments.

Criticism was administered in some cases without the solicitation of the subject, but more often on his own request. The member would sometimes be criticized by the entire society, and sometimes by a committee selected from among those best acquainted with him.

Plainly speaking, the procedure consisted in each member of the committee giving to the subject criticized a piece of his or her mind—a pretty large one as a rule—and the salutary effect of this "mutual criticism" was supposed to show itself in revealing and thereby curing the hidden vices of the subject.

Nordhoff, who had the good fortune of attending one of such criticisms, gives an amusing account of it, which we reproduce in substance.

On one Sunday afternoon a young man, whom we will call Charles, offered himself for criticism. A criticizing committee of fifteen, Mr. Noyes among them, assembled in a room, and the procedure commenced by Mr. Noyes inquiring whether Charles had anything to say. Charles said that he had recently been troubled by doubts, that his faith was weakening, and that he was having a hard struggle to combat the evil spirit within him. Thereupon the men and wo-

men present spoke up in turn. One man remarked that Charles had been spoiled by his good fortune, that he was somewhat conceited; another added that Charles had no regard for social proprieties, that he had recently heard him condemn a beefsteak as tough, and that he was getting into the habit of using slang. Then the women took a hand in the criticism, one remarking that Charles was haughty and supercilious, another adding that he was a "respector of persons," and that he showed his liking for certain individuals too plainly, calling them pet names before the people, and a third criticizing his table manners. And as the criticism progressed the charges accumulated. Charles was declared to have manifested signs of irreligiousness and insincerity, and a general hope was expressed that he would come to see the error of his ways and would reform. During this ordeal, which lasted over half an hour, Charles sat speechless, but as the accusations multiplied, his face grew paler and big drops of perspiration stood on his forehead. The criticisms of his comrades had evidently made a strong impression on the young man.

These frank talks seem not to have provoked any ill-feeling among the members. The history of the Oneida Community discloses no discords of any kind; perfect harmony reigned at all times, and only one member was ever expelled by them.

The community existed and thrived over thirty years, but public opinion, aroused by the clergy of the neighborhood, finally became so pronounced against the "complex marriage" system, that the Perfectionists deemed it advisable to abandon that feature.

This was the signal for the dissolution of the Oneida Community as a communistic society. Noyes himself, accompanied by a few faithful followers, removed to Canada, where he died in 1886, and the remainder of the community incorporated in 1880 as a joint stock company under the name of "Oneida Community, Limited."

The company is now worth about a million dollars. The former industries of the community have all been preserved. The interests of the members in the property of the corporation are represented by the stock held by them, and the common library, reading-room, laundry, and lawns are the only cooperative features retained by them.

CHAPTER II

The Owenite Period

I.—ROBERT OWEN

THE social experiments and teachings of Robert Owen have played an important part in the early history of American Socialism, and a brief sketch of his life and theories are essential for the proper understanding of that period of the movement.

Robert Owen was born on the 14th day of May, 1771, in the Scotch village of Newtown, as the seventh child of respectable but impoverished parents.

He received a rather fragmentary public-school education, and at the early age of eleven years he was apprenticed to a London merchant. Already then the boy exhibited in a marked degree those qualities which in later life made him a leading man in two continents: an extraordinary organizing talent, untiring industry, and a keen analytical mind, combined with broad sympathies, excellent judgment of human nature, courage, and withal a uniformly courteous demeanor.

His business career was one of phenomenal success. Within a few years he advanced from a subordinate clerkship in the store of a London merchant to a very responsible position with a leading Manchester trading-house.

At the age of nineteen years he was engaged by one Drinkwater to superintend his spinning-mill at Manchester, in which about 500 workingmen were employed, and the manner in which he terminated the employment is very characteristic of the man.

Mr. Drinkwater, after a brief trial, had agreed in writing to employ Owen for three years, and to make him a partner in his business after the expiration of that time.

In the meanwhile, however, the Manchester mill-owner was offered very advantageous terms of partnership by a wealthy and influential merchant. Owen's outstanding agreement was the only obstacle to the arrangement, and Mr. Drinkwater determined to get rid of it at any cost. He invited Owen to his office, and explaining the situation to the young superintendent, he asked upon what terms he would release him from the agreement, and offered him a position under the new management at any salary he might name. Owen, who had anticipated the purpose of the interview, and had come armed with his written contract, promptly committed it to the flames, and, quietly watching the precious document reducing itself to ashes, he remarked that he had no desire to be in partnership with people who did not want him, and that he could not remain in the employ of Mr. Drinkwater on any terms.

Shortly after this episode he acquired an interest in the Charlton Twist Company, which became very prosperous through his efforts.

During all his business preoccupations, however, Owen did not neglect the study of social phenomena, and at the period at which we have now arrived he was already imbued with the conviction which subsequently guided all his actions, and in fact determined his entire course of life—the conviction that man is the creature of surrounding circumstances, that his character is not made by him, but for him.

“Man becomes a wild, ferocious savage, a cannibal, or a highly civilized and benevolent being according to the circumstances in which he may be placed from his birth,” he reasoned, and the logical conclusion from this process of reasoning was that the only way of raising the character and habits of men is by improving the conditions under which they live.

He commenced a test of a practical application of this theory in his treatment of the 500 Manchester operatives consigned to his care, but the abrupt discontinuance of his

connections with Mr. Drinkwater checked the experiment before it could show positive results.

Owen now yearned for a larger field of activity, and in the beginning of 1800 he found such in the Scotch village of New Lanark.

The New Lanark works had been founded in 1784 on the falls of the Clyde by Mr. David Dale and Sir Richard Arkwright, the famous inventor.

In 1799 the village consisted of about 2,500 mill-hands with their families, and Mr. Dale was its sole proprietor. The village presented the typical aspect of a manufacturing settlement of that time. About 500 of the employees were children recruited from the charitable institutions of Edinburgh, and were fed and housed in a large barrack erected for that purpose. They were sent to the mill not infrequently at the age of six years, their working hours lasted from six in the morning until seven in the evening, and those of them who survived naturally grew up to be dwarfed and deformed, physically, mentally, and morally. The work was so hard, and the pay so small, that none but the lowest stratum of adult workingmen would take employment at the mills. The village was dirty and the population given to brutality, drunkenness, thievery, and sexual excesses, and was deep in debt to the petty village usurer, the tavern-keeper, and store-keeper.

Such was New Lanark when Owen, with some business associates, purchased from Mr. Dale the mills, village and all, for sixty thousand pounds.

As resident manager, Owen had the power to introduce such reforms as he thought proper, and he immediately undertook the gigantic task of remodeling the village. One of his first acts was to banish the village storekeepers who had been in the habit of selling to the operatives inferior articles for excessive prices, and to establish instead superior shops, where all commodities were retailed at cost. The gin-mills and taverns were removed to the outskirts of the vil-

lage, the streets were cleaned, and comfortable dwelling-houses were substituted for the old hovels.

He determined to receive no more pauper children, and discontinued the parish agreements made by Mr. Dale.

For the children of his employees he established a model infant school, and facilities for education were provided for all inhabitants of New Lanark.

True to his theory, he abolished all systems of punishment of delinquent workmen, seeking to correct their shortcomings by kind admonition, and to crown all, he voluntarily reduced their hours of labor and increased their pay.

Every step of these reforms was attended with difficulties; the superintendents of the different branches of the work regarded him as a dangerous eccentric and blocked his schemes wherever possible, and what was worse, the workmen were by no means friendly to his reforms: years of pitiless exploitation had made them distrustful, and they suspected some hostile design behind each of Owen's new measures.

In 1806 a crisis set in in the English cotton industry in consequence of an embargo laid by the United States upon the export of the raw material. The operations of all cotton-mills of the United Kingdom were stopped, and the thousands of working men thus thrown out of employment were facing starvation.

Owen retained all of his employees, and altho no work was done for four months after, he paid them their full wages, amounting to about seven thousand pounds.

This generous act finally convinced the mill-hands of the sincerity of Owen's purpose. Henceforward they had full confidence in their employer, and heartily cooperated with him in all his measures of reform.

But another obstacle arose. So long as the reforms introduced by Owen did not threaten to diminish the profits of the business, his partners did not interfere with him, but when he proposed some new innovations involving the

building and maintenance of an expensive school and nursery, they rebelled, and pointedly declared that they had associated with him in business, not in philanthropy.

On account of these dissensions, Owen had to change partners twice, and in 1813 he was in danger of being altogether ousted from the management of New Lanark by the majority shareholders of the concern.

But the resourceful philanthropist-manufacturer was equal to the occasion. He prepared a sketch of the works of New Lanark, of his humanitarian plans in connection with the works, and of his difficulties with his partners. This he published in a limited number for private circulation among well-disposed capitalists, and within a short time seven men of wealth, including the famous jurist, Jeremy Bentham, expressed their willingness to invest large sums of money in the New Lanark works, on the understanding that all profits above five per cent. on their investments would be applied to philanthropic uses.

With the funds thus secured, Owen bought out his partners, and now had an entirely free hand in the carrying out of his favorite reforms. Within a generation New Lanark became unrecognizable. The erstwhile miserable village, with a degenerate population, had become a model colony of healthy, bright, and happy men and women, and the object of admiration of the thousands of visitors who came to inspect it every year.

The fame of Owen's achievements spread to all civilized countries. Among his admirers he numbered sovereigns, princes, statesmen, and prominent men in all walks of life, and at one time he was one of the most popular persons in Europe.

But Owen was not satisfied with the results achieved by him. The splendid results in New Lanark had deepened his conviction in the theory that man is the product of the conditions surrounding him, and he now arrived at the ultimate and logical deduction from that theory—that an equal

degree of morality and happiness presupposes the equality of all material conditions of life. Owen had developed from a mere philanthropist to a full-fledged communist.

This change of views brought with it a desire for the enlargement of his sphere of activity. New Lanark had become too narrow for him; he longed to benefit the entire working class, and the remainder of his life was devoted to the propaganda of his ideas in all conceivable forms.

He early recognized the importance of factory legislation, and drafted many measures for the relief and protection of factory employees, some of which were passed by Parliament, owing to his efforts.

In 1817 Owen was invited by the "Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor" to state his views on the cause of increasing pauperism and to propose measures of relief. In his report to the committee he developed the view that under a system of free competition the increase of productivity of labor inevitably leads to the deterioration of the condition of the working class. The introduction of improved machinery throws thousands of working men out of employment, thus engendering a desperate competition for the mere means of subsistence, which lowers the standard of the workingman's life still more. No temporary measures can check this deplorable but necessary concomitant of industrial development.

As a solution of the problem, Owen proposed the establishment of industrial communities on the basis of mutual cooperation. The communities were to consist of 500 to 1,500 persons, who would themselves produce all the necessities of life. The members were to live in large houses surrounded by gardens, industry was to be conducted on a large scale by the men, while the women did the housework and tended to the education of the children.

The plan was rejected by the committee as too radical,

but, nothing daunted, Owen continued his propaganda at public meetings and by private agitation.

Like the true utopian that he was, he addressed himself to the spirit of benevolence of the wealthy and powerful, and even submitted his plans to Czar Nicholas of Russia, and to the Congress of Sovereigns at Aachen in 1818, of course with no better success than what he met with at the hands of the committee.

Owen now determined to undertake the experiment with his own resources, and was eagerly watching for a favorable opportunity. When he learned in 1824 that the Rappist settlement in Indiana was for sale, his mind was soon made up. He purchased the settlement with everything on it, and sailed for America to superintend the experiment in person.

The varied fortunes of the communities founded by Owen and his followers in the United States are described separately in the following pages.

These experiments have attracted so much public attention, that the other side of Owen's activity in this country, his personal propaganda for the theories of Communism, is but too often being entirely overlooked. And still that propaganda had a powerful influence on many of his contemporaries.

Upon his first arrival in the United States he exhibited elaborate models of his proposed communities, and delivered addresses on his favorite topics in many large American cities, and found numerous attentive listeners among the most intelligent classes of citizens.

At Washington he delivered several lectures in the Hall of Representatives before the President, the President-elect, all the judges of the United States Supreme Court, and a great number of Senators and Congressmen.

After the failure of New Harmony, Owen paid three more visits to the United States, and each of these visits was devoted to the propaganda of Socialism. In 1845 he called

an international socialist convention to be held in New York, but the convention turned out to be a rather insignificant affair. In 1846 we find him in Albany explaining to the Constitutional Convention of New York his theory on the formation of human character.

Several Owenite communities were likewise founded in the twenties and thirties of the last century, in different parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with no more success than those in America.

But the failures of his communistic experiments did not discourage the indomitable reformer, and in 1832 we find him enthusiastically engaged in a new enterprise, the "Equitable Banks of Labor Exchange." "The quantity of average human labor contained in a commodity determines the value of such commodity," declared Owen, "hence, if all commodities be valued and exchanged by the producer according to that standard, the capitalist will have no room in industry or commerce, or the worker will retain the full product of his labor."

To carry this idea into operation, the "Equitable Labor Exchange Bank" was founded in London on the following plan: Every producer of a useful article might bring the same to the "bazaar" connected with the bank, and receive for it notes issued by the bank and representing a number of labor hours equivalent to those contained in his article. With these notes the holder could purchase other articles contained in the bazaar and likewise valued according to the quantity of labor consumed by its production.

The weak point of the scheme was, that the bank occupied itself exclusively with the exchange of commodities, and did not even attempt to regulate their production. Anything brought to the bazaar was accepted regardless of the actual demand for it. The result was, that after a short time all useful articles disappeared from circulation, and the bazaars were stocked with goods for which there was no demand.

The "Equitable Labor Exchange Bank" suspended business, and its founder lost a fortune.

Owen was past sixty at that time, but he still continued his activity in behalf of the working class for many years.

Under his influence the "Association of all Classes and Nations" was organized, an association which at one time exercised a powerful influence in English politics, and whose members called themselves "Socialists" since 1839. He also presided at the first national convention of English trade-unions.

Owen died on the 17th day of November, 1858. He had reached the rare age of eighty-seven years, and few lives had been so eventful and useful as his. His failures were many, but his achievements were more; he was the first to introduce the infant-school system, he was the father of factory legislation, one of the first advocates of cooperative associations, and he anticipated many of the theories and features of the modern socialist movement.

Owen left four sons, all of whom became American citizens. They all achieved renown in their chosen occupation. Robert Dale Owen was at one time the foremost exponent of his father's theories in this country. In conjunction with Frances Wright he published, toward the end of the twenties of the last century, a magazine under the title *Free Enquirer*, and conducted a "Hall of Science" in New York, in which lectures were delivered on all topics of social reform. In sympathy with Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright were also the two brothers, George Henry and Frederick W. Evans, two young Englishmen, who landed in New York in 1820. They published successively the *Working man's Advocate*, the *Daily Sentinel* and *Young America*, and of these publications the last mentioned at one time enjoyed considerable popularity. *Young America* printed at its head twelve demands, of which the ninth, "Equal rights for women with men in all respects," and the tenth, "Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery," are par-

ticularly interesting to-day. These demands were said to have been indorsed by no less than 600 papers in different parts of the United States, and eventually gave rise to the formation of a political Working Men's Party in the State of New York. The Working Men's Party held a state convention in Syracuse in 1830, and nominated Ezekiel Williams for Governor. Williams received a little less than 3,000 votes in the State, but in the City of New York, where the Working Men's Party had fused with the Whigs, it succeeded in electing four of its candidates, Silas M. Stilwell, Gideon Tucker, Ebenezer Ford, and George Curtis, to the Legislature. The Working Men's Party was the last manifestation in the labor movement of this country directly attributable to the influence of Owenism. It maintained its independent existence a short time, and was soon absorbed by the "Locofoco" movement.

Robert Dale Owen devoted much of the remainder of his life to politics. He was twice elected to Congress, and drafted the act under which the Smithsonian Institution in Washington was established. As a member of the Indiana Constitutional Convention he was chiefly instrumental in the enactment of the liberal provisions for woman's rights and the introduction of the free-school system in that State. He was for six years *chargé d'affaires* of this country at Naples, and was in his days one of the ablest and noblest figures in national politics. His letter to President Lincoln is said to have been a potent factor in bringing about the President's proclamation abolishing chattel slavery. Toward the end of his life he, like his father, turned to spiritualism. He died in 1877.

George Henry Evans remained active in the field of social reforms until his death in 1870, and Frederick W. Evans joined the Shakers in 1831, and became the leading man of the Mount Lebanon Community, where he was popularly known as Elder Frederick.

II.—NEW HARMONY

THE scene of the first Owenite experiment on American soil was a tract of land on the Wabash River in the State of Indiana. It consisted of about 30,000 acres, all of which was wilderness until 1814, when the Rappists made it their home. The marvelous industry and excellent taste of the sectarian communists within a few years converted the desert into a flourishing settlement.

In 1825 "Harmony" (or "Harmonie," as the Rappists named their community) was a regularly laid-out village, with streets running at right angles to each other, a public square, several large brick buildings, and numerous dwelling-houses, mills, and factories. Owen acquired it all for the sum of \$150,000.

No communistic experiment was ever undertaken under more favorable auspices: the Owenite settlers found ready homes, about 3,000 acres of cultivated land, nineteen detached farms, and a number of fine orchards and vines, all in excellent condition. The hardships usually attending the first years of pioneer life of every community had been successfully overcome by their predecessors, and no debt was weighing on the property.

Associated with Owen in the enterprise was William Maclure, of Philadelphia, a man of considerable wealth, a scientist and philanthropist. Mr. Maclure was the most eminent American geologist of his time, and was known as "The Father of American Geology"; he was also the principal founder of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and, for almost a quarter of a century, the president of that institution. Besides his scientific pursuits, Maclure was especially interested in educational problems. He was the first to introduce the system of Pestalozzi in the United States, and was one of the earliest advocates of industrial education. Mr. Maclure was to have charge of the schools

and institutions for learning in New Harmony, and he brought with him quite a coterie of eminent scientists and educators. Among the former were Thomas Say, the greatest American zoologist of his time; Charles Alexander Lesneur, a famous ichthyologist and a painter of talent; and Dr. Gerard Troost, who subsequently became professor of geology in the Nashville University. Among the professional educators were Professor Neef, who had been associated with Pestalozzi in his school in Switzerland; Madame Marie D. Frotaeot, and Phiquepal d'Arusmout, also Pestalozzian teachers.* Frances Wright also took an active interest in the founding of New Harmony, and so did all of the four sons of Robert Owen.

No wonder then that the future of the community appeared bright and promising to Owen. He confidently predicted that the truth of his principles and the blessings of communism would in the near future manifest themselves in the new colony, and spread "from Community to Community, from State to State, from Continent to Continent, finally overshadowing the whole earth, shedding light, fragrance and abundance, intelligence and happiness upon the sons of men," and with his characteristic enthusiasm and broadness he invited "the industrious and well-disposed of all nations" to come to New Harmony, as he rechristened the settlement.

And they came in flocks, the men of all nations, well-disposed or otherwise; in fact, no less than 800 persons responded to Owen's call within the short space of the first six weeks, and a hundred more joined soon after. It was the most motley and incongruous crowd that ever assembled for a joint enterprise: there were, undoubtedly, among them men and women actuated by pure and noble motives, and who joined the movement with the sincere purpose of contributing by their efforts to the success of the commu-

* For particulars of that interesting phase of Owen's social experiment, see "The New Harmony Communities," by George Browning Lockwood, Marion, Ind., 1902.

nistic enterprise, but there were also those who had absolutely no understanding or sympathies for Owen's ideals, who looked upon his enterprise as the act of a wealthy eccentric, and sought to take advantage of his generosity as long as it lasted. There were men and women of all classes and vocations, habits and notions, professionals, mechanics, laborers, idlers, and adventurers.

No test of qualification was imposed on them, no inquiry as to their motives was made, and this indiscriminate admission of members at the very outset impressed the community with a stamp of disharmony and shiftlessness which finally caused its downfall.

During the two years of its existence as a community, New Harmony had no less than seven different forms of government or "constitutions."

It was not Owen's original intention to start the colony on a purely communistic basis. "Men brought up in an irrational system of society," he argued, "can not change to a rational system without some preparation." His first constitution accordingly provided that the settlers were to be held on probationary training for three years, under the control of a "Preliminary Committee," and only after a successful service of the probationary period were they to be admitted to full membership.

The period of three years seems, however, to have appeared too long for the New Harmonites, for, in January, 1826, we find them adopting a new constitution, by which the colony was reorganized on the basis of complete communism, with a general assembly as the chief authority and a council of six as its executive organ.

But the new plan of organization somehow did not work, and the members unanimously called on Owen to assume the dictatorship of the community. Under this new form of government, the third since its existence, the settlement seemed on a fair road to success. Some order was introduced into the general chaos; the idlers disappeared, and

the shops and farms presented a scene of unwonted industry.

But in April, 1826, some members, tired of the steady and systematic work, demanded a division of the villages into several independent communities. To this Owen would not agree, but, as a result of the ensuing discussion, he presented the community with a fourth constitution. This divided the members into three grades—"conditional members," "probationary members," and "persons on trial," and provided for a "nucleus" of twenty-five selected members, who had the exclusive right to admit new applicants.

Owen retained the power to veto any new member, and was to continue the sole head of the community for one year and so long thereafter as at least one-third of the members should think the community unfit to govern itself.

But the clamor for a division of the community was not stifled, and by the end of May, Owen, yielding to the general demand, agreed to form four separate communities from the members of New Harmony, each having an independent administration.

This was the fifth constitution of New Harmony, and barely three months later the settlers adopted a sixth constitution, abolishing all officers, and appointing in their place a committee of three, invested with dictatorial powers.

The seventh and last constitution was adopted by the members of all colonies of New Harmony at a joint meeting held September 17, 1826. By this constitution the entire administration was placed in the hands of Owen and four other members to be appointed by him every year.

But the extraordinary mutability of its form of government did not save New Harmony from internal dissensions and splits. "Religion," records Sargent,* Owen's biographer, "was the earliest topic of disagreement, and the evil seems to have been aggravated by visits from itinerant preachers,

*"Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy," by William Lucas Sargent.

whose interference, however, was checked in a characteristic manner. It was professed that free discussion on religion, and every kind of teaching, was tolerated and even sought; and, therefore, all ministers who came for the avowed purpose of preaching publicly were entertained at the tavern free of expense: but with this unusual condition, that at the conclusion of a sermon any one of the congregation might ask whatever questions he pleased. This catechising was so little liked by the subjects of it that, during many months, no preacher visited New Harmony."

But apparently the disappearance of itinerant preachers did not wholly cure the evil.

Discussions on religion, and, together with it, on the most suitable form of government, continued to disturb the peace of the settlers, and at times assumed an alarming aspect.

Every new outbreak of religious controversy and every change of the constitution was accompanied by the withdrawal of some disaffected members from the community, and two groups of members separated from the parent organization, forming independent settlements within the territory of New Harmony.

One of them, the "Macluria," was named after William Maclure. The colony was settled by about 150 of the most conservative and orthodox members of New Harmony, and was chiefly concerned with the education of the young, paying but insufficient attention to agricultural and industrial pursuits.

The other community was named "Feiba Peven," which name, for some mysterious reasons, was supposed to indicate the latitude and longitude of the place. Feiba Peven was settled principally by English farmers, who were said to be very skilful, but somewhat too fond of whisky.

Both communities maintained rather friendly relations with New Harmony, and, as we have seen, rejoined it in adopting the seventh constitution.

Considering the complexity of elements and general plan-

lessness of the community, it is not surprising that its life was of but short duration.

At the beginning everything was bright and lovely. "Free education was provided for the children, the store supplied the settlers with all necessities, and a respectable apothecary dispensed medicines without charge," narrates A. J. McDonald, the first chronicler of the experiment,* but the historian does not inform us whether the expense was covered from the earnings of the settlers, or, what seems to be more likely, from Owen's pocket.

Shortly after the establishment of the community Owen went to England, leaving the new enterprise in charge of his young son William, and, upon his return in the early part of 1826, he still found New Harmony in apparently excellent condition. On July 4th of that year, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Owen delivered an address to his followers, which has since become famous for its eloquence and boldness, and from which we quote the following passage:

"I now declare to you and the world, that Man, up to this hour, has been, in all parts of the world, a slave to a Trinity of the most monstrous evils that could be combined to inflict mental and physical evil upon his whole race. I refer to Private or Individual Property, Absurd and Irrational systems of Religion, and Marriage founded on Individual Property and some of these Irrational Systems of Religion."

The tone of his entire address is still very hopeful; he still expects his community to become a powerful factor for the removal of his abhorred Trinity of Evils.

But a few months later we find him for the first time in a somewhat doubting and pondering mood. "Eighteen months' experience," he observes in his *Gazette*, "has proved to us that the requisite qualifications for a permanent member of the Community of Common Property are: 1, Honesty

* Quoted in Noyes's "History of American Socialisms."

of purpose; 2, Temperance; 3, Industry; 4, Carefulness; 5, Cleanliness; 6, Desire for knowledge; 7, A conviction of the fact that the character of man is formed for, and not by, him."

The discovery came too late. The heterogeneous crowd gathered at New Harmony was already breaking up.

Member after member left the community, and Owen was unable to stem the tide.

A number of individuals banded themselves together into small communities, and to those Owen assigned parcels of land at the outskirts of New Harmony. The land was leased to them for a period of 10,000 years at a nominal annual rental of fifty cents per acre, and upon condition that the lease should terminate as soon as the land should be used for any but communistic purposes. These communities were short-lived. Within the village proper communism was altogether abandoned. Private stores and shops displaced communal industries, the gin-mill made its triumphant entry, and petty competition and close-fisted bargaining reigned in the place which Owen had hoped to make the starting-point of the brotherhood of all sons of men.

III.—YELLOW SPRINGS COMMUNITY

TOWARD the end of 1824 Owen arrived in Cincinnati, and remained there a short time lecturing and exhibiting his plans for a model community. He made many converts to his ideas, foremost among whom was Daniel Roe, the minister of the "New Jerusalem," or Swedenborgian Church.

This church was composed of people of culture, refinement, and wealth, and many of them were so fascinated by Owen's glowing accounts of the blessings of community life that they resolved to try the experiment.

About seventy-five or one hundred families organized for that purpose, and after careful consultation and selection, they purchased a domain at Yellow Springs, about seventy-five miles north of Cincinnati.

The property was held by the purchasers in trust for all members of the community; schools were to be established with rational methods of instruction, public lectures were held, and dancing and music were cultivated.

"For the first few weeks," records a member of the community, "all entered into the new system with a will. Service was the order of the day. Men who seldom or never before labored with their hands, devoted themselves to agriculture and the mechanical arts with a zeal that was at least commendable, though not always according to knowledge. Ministers of the Gospel guided the plow; called the swine to their corn, instead of sinners to repentance. Merchants exchanged the yardstick for the rake and pitchfork. All appeared to labor cheerfully for the common weal. Among the women there was even more apparent self-sacrifice. Ladies who had seldom seen the inside of their own kitchens went into that of the common eating-house and made themselves useful among pots and kettles; and refined young ladies who had all their lives been waited upon, took their turns in waiting upon others at the table."

The members of the Yellow Springs Community, like those of Brook Farm, consisted chiefly of "chosen spirits"—there were but few farmers or laborers among them. Their movement was not undertaken for economic or material considerations, but for spiritual and intellectual motives. They regarded their venture somewhat in the nature of a prolonged picnic, and the charm continued just about half a year. By the end of that time the aristocratic communists sobered down. The ministers soon found the sinners more manageable and interesting than the swine, the merchants found the pitchforks not half as remunerative as the yardstick, and the refined ladies tired of the coarse company of pots and kettles. One by one they returned to their old homes and vocations, and Yellow Springs became a beautiful but faded dream in their memories.

IV.—NASHOBA

THE most original, if not the most important, community of the Owenite cycle was Nashoba, founded in the fall of 1825 by Frances Wright.

The settlement comprised 2,000 acres of land on both sides of the Wolf River, about thirteen miles above Memphis, in the State of Tennessee.

Frances Wright was one of the most striking figures of the Owen movement. Born in Scotland, she early acquired renown for her philanthropic works, strong intellect, and sympathies with all progressive movements of her time. She traveled extensively in the United States, especially in the South, where she made a study of the conditions of the negro. She also visited the Rappists, Shakers, and other sectarian communities, and was deeply impressed with their social theories and mode of life. She took a leading part in the early antislavery agitation, and was one of the first and most forcible advocates of woman's rights.

Her chief purpose in establishing the Nashoba Community was to educate the negro slaves to social and economic equality with the whites. With that object in view, she purchased several negro families, and persuaded some planters to lend her a few of their slaves for the experiment. With these and a number of white persons of all vocations she started the community.

Her plan was to establish model schools for the common use by the children of the white and black, to set the negroes to work on the settlement, using one-half of the proceeds of their labor for their maintenance and subsistence, and the other half for the creation of a fund to purchase their emancipation.

The management of the community was to be in the hands of some philanthropists associated with the founder in the enterprise. The first few months of the experiment

were quite satisfactory, and the results achieved under the intelligent and energetic superintendence of Frances Wright seemed very encouraging. But just when her personal presence was most needed, Miss Wright fell sick, and was compelled to make a voyage to Europe for the recovery of her health.

In December, 1826, she deeded the land, together with the slaves and personal property, to General Lafayette, William Maclure, Robert Owen, Robert Dale Owen, C. Colden, R. Whitby, R. Jennings, G. Flower, J. Richardson, and Camilla Wright, "to be held by them, and their associates and successors, in perpetual trust for the benefit of the negro race." Under the management of these trustees the community lasted a little over a year. The extraordinary task assumed by Miss Wright proved to be beyond the powers of her successors, and Miss Wright, who had in the meanwhile returned from Europe, was unable to arrest the steady process of disintegration. In March, 1828, the trustees of Nashoba announced that they had for the time being deferred the attempt to organize the community on a basis of cooperative labor, and that they merely claimed for it the title of "Preliminary Social Community."

Three months later the entire experiment was abandoned. The slaves were given their freedom, and removed to Haiti.

The Nashoba experiment was not the end of Frances Wright's activity.

She continued to make propaganda for the cause of communism, antislavery, and woman's rights in the columns of the *New Harmony Gazette* and *The Free Enquirer*.

At one time she also attracted much attention by the eloquent public speeches on her favorite subjects, which she delivered in all the principal cities of the Union.

She died at Cincinnati, Ohio, December 14, 1852, at the age of fifty-seven years.

V.—OTHER OWENITE EXPERIMENTS

OF the remaining Owenite communities, one deserves special mention for the variety of its fortunes and the persistence of its members.

The community appears in the history of the Owenite period three times, at different places and under different names, but in reality it is but one enterprise, started at Haverstraw, N. Y., and wound up at Kendal, Ohio.

THE HAVERSTRAW COMMUNITY

This community was formed in 1826 by one Fay, a New York lawyer, and several other New Yorkers and Philadelphians of culture and means.

They occupied one hundred and twenty acres of land at Haverstraw on the Hudson, about thirty miles from New York. The number of their members soon increased to eighty, and among them were many persons skilled in various trades and occupations, as well as some professional men, and the material condition of the colony was at all times prosperous.

The feature of the community was the establishment of a CHURCH OF REASON, which was attended by the members on Sundays, and in which lectures on Morals, Philosophy, and Science were delivered. These assemblies took the place of all religious ceremonies and observances.

The community had a very short-lived career, and the cause of its failure is said to have been dishonest management.

After the breaking up of the Haverstraw Community, the majority of the members joined

THE COXSACKIE COMMUNITY

This experiment was very similar to that of Haverstraw. The estate of Coxsackie was also situated in the State of New York, about seven miles from the Hudson River. It existed less than a year, and from what we can learn, the members spent most of that time in discussing proposed constitutions.

We meet many of the members again in

THE KENDAL COMMUNITY

This community was located near Canton, Ohio. It was founded toward the close of 1826, and its beginning was very promising.

The members, about 150 in number, consisted of farmers, mechanics, and also the inevitable "choice spirits." They conducted a woolen factory, erected a number of dwellings, and were engaged in the building of a large common hall, 170 by 33 feet.

They were animated by a spirit of harmony and concord, and they proclaimed triumphantly that the success of their social system had been demonstrated beyond contradiction.

The following passage from a letter of John Hannon,* who was a member of the community, accounts for its sudden end:

"Our Community progressed harmoniously and prosperously so long as the members had their health, and a hope of paying for their domain. But a summer fever attacked us, and seven heads of families died, among whom were several of our most valued and useful members. At the same time, the rich proprietors of whom we purchased our land urged us to pay; and we could not sell a part of it and give a good title, because we were not incorporated. So we were compelled to give up and disperse, losing what we had

* Quoted in Noyes's "History of American Socialisms."

paid, which was about \$7,000. But we formed friendships that were enduring, and the failure never for a moment weakened my faith in the value of Communism."

Noyes mentions four more Owenite communities, two in Indiana, one in Pennsylvania, and one in New York. But they seem to have been insignificant and short-lived, and their history is not known.

CHAPTER III

The Fourierist Period

I.—CHARLES FOURIER: HIS LIFE AND THEORIES

CHARLES FOURIER was born on the 7th day of February, 1772, at Besançon, in France.

At a very early age he showed a strong inclination for observation and study, his favorite topics being geography, astronomy, chemistry, and physics.

As the son of a wealthy merchant, he was himself destined for a mercantile career. But the boy had no love for commerce. The practises and tricks of trade were repugnant to his upright instincts; he succeeded but poorly in the "noble art of lying, or the skill to sell," as he termed it, and, altho he changed several positions in his early youth, the verdict of his employers was invariably the same—"an honest young man, but not fit for business." At the age of eighteen, Fourier undertook an extended tour through France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium in the interests of his employers, and he took advantage of the opportunity to study the climate of these countries, the architecture of their principal cities, and, above all, the industries, social conditions, mode of life and character of their inhabitants.

In 1781 the elder Fourier died, leaving a fortune of about 200,000 francs, of which Charles received two-fifths, and only after the death of the taciturn philosopher his friends learned that he had lost that inheritance during the siege of Lyons in 1793.

In 1812 Fourier received a small legacy from his mother, from which he derived a yearly income of 900 francs, and, supplementing the little annuity with his occasional earnings as a curbstone broker, he abandoned his mercantile pursuits and devoted himself entirely to the study of social problems.

The first known product of his pen was an essay published in 1803, in the *Bulletin de Lyon*, under the title "Triumvirat continental et paix perpetuelle sous trente ans" ("The Continental Triumvirate and Perpetual Peace Within Thirty Years"). In this essay Fourier developed the idea that it was necessary for the interests of a lasting peace to establish a universal empire in Europe. The four European powers to be considered in connection with such an empire were, in his opinion, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, of which, however, the latter would be vanquished in a single battle. The triumvirate and lasting peace then became possible, but should the three empires not agree, Austria would soon be absorbed, and the contest for the universal dominion would lie between France and Russia, with the chances of victory in favor of the latter. The article was said to have attracted the attention of Napoleon, who warned the publishers not to print similar sentiments in the future.

In 1808 he published his first large work under the title "The Theory of the Four Movements and of the General Destinies," which was followed by his "Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association, or Theory of Universal Harmony," in 1822; the "New Industrial World," in 1829; and two volumes of "False Industry, and its Antidote, Natural, Attractive Industry," published in 1835 and 1836.

Of these works, the first contained a general outline of his social system, and the others were devoted to a fortification of its several points and parts.

The social system of Fourier is the most ingenious and elaborate scheme presented by any utopian writer, and it is impossible to appreciate the movement to which it gave rise on two continents without a knowledge of the leading features of that system.

Fourier is the apostle of social harmony.

Unlike most utopians, his starting-point in the criticism of the present order of things is not the injustice of the distribution of social wealth, or the suffering of the poor, but

the anarchy and wastefulness of modern production, and the repellent condition of labor. He does not address himself to the sentiments of man, but to their material interests. His battle-cry is not "Justice," but "Order," and the general prosperity and happiness of mankind is but an incident of the universal harmony of his system, not its primary aim.

God created the universe on a uniform and harmonious plan, argues Fourier, hence there is a harmonious connection between everything existing; between organic and inorganic matter, between man and God, man and the globe, and the globe and the universe. Endowing man with certain instincts and passions, God intended the free and full exercise of these instincts and passions, and not their suppression. Hence all human passions are legitimate and useful, and an ideal state of society is such as affords to its members a full opportunity to gratify them.

Fourier thereupon proceeds to analyze the human passions, and finds them to be twelve in number, as shown in the following table, reproduced from Brisbane's "Social Destiny":

			<i>Tendencies.</i>		
Five sensitive pas- sions	{	Sight Hearing Smell Taste Touch	{	Elegance, riches, and material har- monies	Collective tendency.
Four affective pas- sions	{	Friendship Love Ambition Paternity	{	Groups and passional har- monies	
Three distributive or directing pas- sions	{	Emulative Alternating Composite	{	Series and con- cert of masses	Unityism, tendency to universal unity.*

Of these, the first five, if properly exercised, tend to elegance, refinement, the cultivation of all fine arts, and to physical health and enjoyment.

The four "passions" of the second group tend to establish well-balanced and harmonious social relations between

* "Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Reorganization of Industry," by Albert Brisbane, 1840.

man and man, and are, therefore, also designated Social Passions.

The three passions of the third group are of Fourier's own creation, and require some explanation. The tenth, or Emulative Spirit, called by Fourier the *Cabaliste*, is the spirit of party, intrigue, or rivalry. Exercised in a legitimate manner, as in the rivalry of groups for the excellence of their productions, it is a source of great industrial improvements and inventions. The eleventh, or Alternating Passion, called the *Papillione*, in the technical language of Fourierism, is the desire for change and variety in all pursuits. Applied to industry, it would destroy the monotony of the present methods of work, and make the latter pleasant and attractive. The twelfth, or Composite Passion, is the spirit of enthusiasm begotten by a combination of two passions of different groups, as, for instance, hearing excellent music in company of dear friends, which gratifies both the sense of hearing and sense of friendship. Applied to industry, it signifies the association of congenial persons for the performance of a pleasant and attractive work.

The free play of these passions leads to the formation of *Groups* and *Series*.

A Group is "an assemblage of persons—three, seven, twelve, or more—freely and spontaneously united for any purpose, either of business or pleasure. But in strict theory, we understand by Group a mass leagued together from identity of taste for the exercise of some branch of Industry, Science, or Art." *

A full Group should consist of at least seven persons, so that it could form three Subgroups, three in the center, and two in each wing. The two wings of each Group represent two opposite extremes of taste and tendencies, while the center maintains the equilibrium, and, therefore, should be the more numerous.

A number of Groups, at least five, unite into a Series.

* The quotation is from Brisbane.

The Series is made up of Groups on the same principle upon which the latter are made up of individuals.

For instance, a cattle-breeding Series is divided into as many Groups as the kinds of cattle it breeds, and each Group is divided into Subgroups for every variety of cattle within the breed raised by the Group.

It must be observed that the Series and Groups are not formed arbitrarily by an overseer or superintendent, but by the free choice of the members, and also that they are by no means fixed organizations, but that each member may go from Group to Group, from Series to Series, as his inclinations dictate.

The great advantages which Fourier sees in this mode of work are the choice and variety of occupations, and short duration of each; the choice of congenial fellow workers; the division of labor and rivalry between the separate Groups and Series.

To these natural advantages Fourier adds some artificial attractions, such as elegance and beauty of all exterior objects connected with industry; honorary distinctions, such as ranks, titles, and decorations; and the stimulus of music, uniforms, and emblems.

To provide for a field broad enough to allow every one to exercise usefully his varied inclinations by means of Groups and Series, a number of individuals, preferably 1,800 to 2,000, must associate together.

This association, named the Phalanx, is the social unit in the system of Fourier; it is the corner-stone of his theory, and its workings are described by him with great detail. The domain of the Phalanx occupies an area of about three square miles, and its principal edifice is the Palace. The Palace consists of a double line of continuous buildings about 2,200 feet in length and three stories in height; like the Group and the Series, it is composed of a center and two wings. The center is reserved for quiet occupations; it contains the dining-halls, council-rooms, library, etc.;

in one of the wings all workshops of a noisy nature are located, and the other wing contains the hotel with apartments and saloons for strangers. The storehouses, granaries, and stables are placed opposite the Palace, and the space between the two forms the grand square, where parades and festivities are held. Around the interior of the entire building winds a spacious gallery, which is, so to say, the street of the Phalanx. It is an elegant covered avenue, from which flights of stairs lead to every part of the building. "The inhabitants of the Palace," exclaims Fourier with enthusiasm, "can, in the height of winter, communicate with the workshops, stables, bazaars, and ballrooms without knowing whether it rains or blows, whether it is warm or cold."

Behind the Palace are the gardens and fields of the Phalanx, arranged with due regard to the nature of the soil and sense of beauty.

In the Phalanx there are no parasites, as servants, armies, fiscal agents, idlers, etc. The women are freed from their monotonous and stultifying household duties, and do useful work in a number of branches for which they are exceptionally well adapted.

All members work, and all work is done on the cooperative plan, hence the enormous economies and great wealth of the Phalanxes. Let us suppose a Phalanx consists of 400 families. Each family, living separately, would have to maintain a separate kitchen. This would take almost all the time of 400 housewives, and the cooking would be pretty bad in most cases; in the Phalanx all the cooking is done in one vast kitchen, with three or four fires for preparing the food for different tables at different prices; ten skilled cooks perform all the work, and the meals are infinitely better. The same applies to all other household work, as well as to farming and industrial pursuits. Instead of a hundred milkmen who lose a hundred days in the city, one or two are substituted, with properly constructed vehicles to

perform their work; instead of having to manage a hundred little farms, one great domain is being cultivated skilfully and scientifically; one large granary, with all advantages of dryness, ventilation, and locality, is substituted for hundreds of inconvenient little granaries, etc.

The education of the children is the object of the greatest care of the Phalanx. All children receive an equal education in the common nurseries and schools. True to the theory of the usefulness of all human passions, the Phalanx considers it the principal duty of teachers to detect all inclinations and tendencies of the child, to develop them, and to turn them to good account.

The classification of children according to character and taste commences from the very birth. The sucklings are divided into three classes: the quiet, or good-natured; the restless, or noisy; and the turbulent, or intractable; and separate rooms are maintained for each of the classes. The nurseries are large, beautiful rooms, and the work of nursing is done by women who have an inclination for it. Mothers may personally nurse their children, if they wish.

The children are divided into seven orders according to age, and the education and pursuits of each order are determined by the inclinations manifested at the particular age.

At the age of three years the child is initiated in easy and attractive industrial pursuits, such as helping in the kitchen, and thus the energies usually wasted by children on play and mischief are being utilized by the Phalanx, while the child acquires an early taste for industry.

As the child advances in age and attains a higher degree of physical development and intellectual culture, the scope of its useful activities is enlarged. Especially noteworthy in this respect is the organization of the "Little Hordes."

The Little Hordes are composed of children of the age of from ten to twelve years, who take upon themselves the performance of all filthy and disagreeable work, such as cleaning sinks and sewers, the management of manures, etc.

The reason why this work is assigned by Fourier to children of that age is, as he observes, that they show a marked passion for filth and dirt; this passion, like any other, is given them for a useful purpose, which can best be accomplished by the organization of "Little Hordes." The Little Hordes rank as the "Militia of God" in the service of Industrial Unity; they hold the first place in parades, and receive the salute of supremacy.

With all that, however, the Phalanx is not a communistic organization. Seven-eighths of the members of a Phalanx are farmers and mechanics, the balance being composed of capitalists, men of science, and artists. The property of the Phalanx is represented by shares of stock, but it is not necessary for every member to hold stock, nor need a stockholder be a member. The Phalanx keeps accounts with every member, crediting him for his services at rates fixed by the council, with due regard to his efficiency and the nature of the services. At the end of the year an inventory is taken, and the profits are divided as follows:

Five-twelfths to labor.

Four-twelfths to capital.

Three-twelfths to skill or talent.

No jealousy or antagonism is created by this division of profits, as there are no fixed classes in the Phalanx. The same member holds one or more shares in the Phalanx, does work in one or more Groups, and develops special skill in one or more branches of industry, and thus shares in all three classes of profits. On the other hand, the capitalist is either satisfied with the mere dividends on his investment, or he adds to it such income as he may earn by applying his labor or talents to any useful pursuit, while the poor man works and earns more or less according to his preference for leisure or enjoyment.

The Phalanx contains sumptuous apartments as well as modest living-rooms; it furnishes elaborate repasts as well as simple meals; it imposes no restrictions on clothing or

amusements, and every member may lead a mode of life in accordance with his means and inclinations.

This, in rough outlines, is the positive side of Fourier's system. Its author expected his system to supersede the present order of things gradually. The first Phalanx being established, others would follow in rapid succession until the entire globe would be covered with them, and Fourier, with his wonted mathematical accuracy, figures out that the globe would hold exactly two millions of Phalanxes.

Here Fourier, as many utopians before and after him, is carried away by the beauties and possibilities of his own social theories, and crowns his system with a fanciful superstructure. The system of Phalanxes, he asserts, will ultimately unite the entire human race into one brotherhood, with a uniform civilization and mode of life, and with one universal language. Constantinople will be the capital of the globe, and the residence of the Omniarch, the chief executive of the world. The Omniarch will be assisted in the administration of the globe by 3 Augusts, 12 Cæsarinas, 48 Empresses, 144 Kalifs, 576 Sultans, etc., altho it nowhere appears what useful functions this host of royalties is to perform.

But the most fantastic part of Fourier's system is his theory of cosmogony. Each planet, he declares, has its period of youth, development, decay, and death, in the same way as man. The average life of the planet is 80,000 years, of which the period of infancy lasts 5,000 years, that of ascending and descending development 35,000 years each, and that of senility 5,000 years. Within that period the human race passes through thirty-two periods. We are now in the fifth of these periods, that of Civilization. The eighth period, that of Harmony, will bring about universal happiness. The polar crown (*couronne boreal*) will then originate, and will revolutionize the physical aspect of the globe; the climate will be uniform all over the world, the wild beasts will disap-

pear, and new creatures, useful to man, will take their place; the ocean water will acquire the taste of lemonade, and the world will be one huge paradise.

As we showed above, Fourier was not a communist. "No community of property can exist in the Phalanx," he declares expressly, and again and again he reiterates that a diversity of fortune and enjoyments is essential to universal harmony. Of Owen, who was his contemporary, Fourier used to speak with contempt, saying that he did not understand the principles of association. His system is a compromise, a scheme of harmony between capital and labor.

Fourier himself considers his system as absolutely infallible, and compares his "discovery of social attractions" to Newton's discovery of physical attraction. He clings to every detail of his system with the tenacity, belief, and enthusiasms of the prophet, to borrow a happy comparison made by Bebel in his lucid study of Fourier's life and theories.*

That the discovery was not made sooner was simply due to the fact that all previous science, as well as all previous civilization, moved on false lines.

Fourier's faith in the ultimate realization of his scheme was never shaken; he submitted his plans of a model Phalanx to scores of princes and bankers, and was never discouraged by their skepticism or derision. In one of his latest works he appealed for the means of establishing a trial Phalanx, and, during the ten years preceding his death, he went to his house at noontime with the regularity of clockwork, expecting the arrival of a philanthropic millionaire in response to his appeal.

Fourier did not live to see the short period of popularity of his theories. He died in Paris on the 10th day of October, 1837, surrounded by a very small circle of enthusiastic disciples. His tombstone bears this legend:

*"Charles Fourier, Sein Leben und Seine Theorien," Von A. Bebel, Stuttgart, 1890.

"Here lie the remains of Charles Fourier. The Series distribute the harmonies. The Attractions stand in relation to the destinies."

II.—FOURIERISM IN THE UNITED STATES

IN the United States Fourierism was introduced by Albert Brisbane.

Brisbane was born in 1809, the only son of a well-to-do landowner, at Batavia, N. Y. He received a thorough and many-sided education, and spent his early manhood in travel in the principal countries of Europe and Asia. He studied philosophy in Paris under Cousin, and in Berlin under Hegel, and in both capitals he made the acquaintance of many men and women prominent in politics and in the republic of letters.

Of great influence in the formation of his character and views seems to have been the select circle of Berlin's intellectual aristocracy, which had for its gathering-point the drawing-room of the brilliant Mme. Varnhagen von Ense.

Of a keen analytical mind and broad sympathies, Brisbane was early attracted by the humanitarian systems of the utopian socialists of that time.

He first enlisted with the St. Simonian school, and devoted much of his time and means to the propaganda of its principles. But the theories of the great French utopian, extravagant in many respects, did not satisfy him long, and when the movement split under the rival leadership of Enfantin and Bazard, Brisbane severed his connections with it.

It was a short time after that, that a copy of the newly published "Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association," by Fourier, fell into his hands.

The effect of the book on the young man was magical. He read it and reread it, and the more he studied it, the higher rose his admiration for the work.

"Now, for the first time," relates Brisbane in his autobi-

ography,* "I had come across an idea which I had never met before—the idea of *dignifying* and *rendering attractive* the manual labor of mankind; labor hitherto regarded as a divine punishment inflicted on man. To introduce attraction into this sphere of commonplace, degrading toil—the dreary lot of the masses—which seemed to overwhelm man with its prosaic, benumbing, deadening influence; to elevate such labors, and invest them with dignity, was indeed a mighty revolution!"

In 1832 Brisbane went to Paris, where he remained two years studying the more intricate parts of Fourier's system, partly under the personal guidance of the master, and taking active part in the Fourierist movement, which was then just commencing to develop. Upon his return to the United States, Brisbane carried on the propaganda of his social ideas in a quiet way until 1840, when he published his "Social Destiny of Man." The work is a concise exposition of Fourier's system. About one equal half of it consists of extracts from Fourier's work, while the other half is devoted to the author's commentaries and illustrations, suitable to American conditions. The style of the work is popular, the exposition lucid, and the book had an immense and spontaneous success. It was read by all classes of persons interested in social problems, and may be said to have laid the foundation for the Fourierist movement in this country.

It was also instrumental in converting to the cause of Fourierism the man who subsequently became its most eloquent and influential apostle—Horace Greeley. Of this interesting episode Brisbane gives the following amusing account:

"I engaged Parke Benjamin to look over the proof-sheets of 'Social Destiny of Man,' he being a practical journalist of wide experience.

"Talking over the subject together one day, and of the

* "Albert Brisbane, A Mental Biography," by his Wife, Redelia Brisbane, Boston, 1893.

probable effect of the book on the public, he suddenly exclaimed: 'There is Horace Greeley, just damned fool enough to believe such nonsense.' 'Who is Greeley?' I asked. 'Oh, he is the young man up-stairs editing the *New Yorker*.'

"I took my book under my arm and off I went to Greeley.

"As I entered his room I said, 'Is this Mr. Greeley?' 'Yes.' 'I have a book here I would like you to read.' 'I don't know that I can now,' he replied; 'I am very busy.' 'I wish you would,' I urged; 'if you will, I will leave it.' 'Well,' he said, 'I am going to Boston to-night, and I'll take it along; perhaps I'll find time.'

"Greeley took the book with him and read it, and when he came back he was an enthusiastic believer in Industrial Association."

The importance of the new acquisition for the cause of Fourierism in this country soon became manifest; two years after the episode narrated, when the *Tribune*, founded in the mean time by Greeley, had become a popular and influential metropolitan newspaper, with a daily circulation exceeding 20,000, which was very large for that time, its editor opened the columns of the paper to the teachings of Brisbane.

The arrangement was carried out in a rather original way.

One spring morning in 1842 the *Tribune* appeared with this heading conspicuously printed on the top of one of the columns of its front page:

"ASSOCIATION; OR, PRINCIPLES OF A TRUE ORGANIZATION
OF SOCIETY.

"This column has been purchased by the Advocates of Association, in order to lay their principles before the public. Its editorship is entirely distinct from that of the *Tribune*."

Both sides profited by the arrangement, for while Brisbane acquired a large daily audience for the propaganda of his theories, the *Tribune* gained an additional circle of read-

ers among persons interested in social problems. Brisbane edited the column until he went again to Europe, in the summer of 1844, and he made good use of the opportunity. Theoretical articles on Fourierism, practical hints as to the best way of organizing associations, fervid appeals to the readers, controversial arguments and accounts of meetings, filled the space allotted to Brisbane, from day to day.

"At first," relates Parton,* "they seem to have attracted little attention, and less opposition. They were regarded (as far as my youthful recollection serves) in the light of articles to be skipped, and by most of the city readers of the *Tribune*, I presume, they were skipped with the utmost regularity, and quite as a matter of course. Occasionally, however, the subject was alluded to editorially, and every such allusion was of a nature to be read. Gradually Fourierism became one of the topics of the time. Gradually certain editors discovered that Fourierism was unchristian. Gradually the cry of Mad Dog arose. Mean while the articles of Mr. Brisbane were having their effect upon the people."

Horace Greeley's services to the cause of Fourierism were not limited to the passive act of lending some space in his paper. He wrote and spoke on the subject of Associations whenever and wherever occasion presented itself; and he took an active and leading part in the councils and conventions of the Fourierists, and in the attempts to realize their theories by the formation of Phalanxes.

Of lasting interest is the famous discussion on Fourierism carried on between Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond in the columns of the *Tribune* and the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. The debate was conducted with much spirit and ability on both sides, and was afterward published as a separate pamphlet.

Next in importance to Brisbane and Greeley in the movement was Parke Godwin, associate editor of the *Evening*

* J. Parton, "Life of Horace Greeley," Boston, 1869.

Post, and son-in-law of its editor-in-chief, the poet, William Cullen Bryant. His pamphlet, *Democracy, Constructive and Pacific*, which appeared in 1843, became one of the most effective weapons in the literary arsenal of Fourierism. The pamphlet contained but little more than fifty pages, but in brilliancy of style, power of argument, and soundness of views, it excelled everything else written in this country in defense of Fourierism. Parke Godwin was one of the first American socialists to divine the tendencies of the capitalist mode of production, and he came very near the modern socialist conception of the class struggle. His appeal was addressed principally to the working men. Godwin also published a booklet, entitled "Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier," and a "Life of Charles Fourier."

Of equal importance with these standard works on Fourierism were the periodical magazines devoted to the cause. In October, 1843, Brisbane established the *Phalanx*, a monthly magazine edited by him, with the able cooperation of Osborne Macdaniel. It was published until the middle of 1845. When Brook Farm was converted to Fourierism, the *Phalanx* suspended publication, and its place was taken by the *Harbinger*.

The *Harbinger* was a weekly magazine. It was published at Brook Farm, and, after the dissolution of the community, in New York.

The conversion of Brook Farm added a new galaxy of brilliant writers to the cause of Fourierism.

One of the foremost of them was the founder of Brook Farm, George Ripley, a man of profound scholarship and of exceptional qualities of mind and heart. He was a Unitarian minister, but after fourteen years of work in the pulpit he came to the conclusion that his profession was incompatible with his social and ethical views, and resigned from the ministry. Having become converted to Fourierism, he devoted himself entirely to the cause. The *Harbinger*, during the four years of its existence, contained no less than 315 contri-

butions from his pen. Charles A. Dana was another notable acquisition of the Fourierist movement. At that time he was a very young man, but sober and serious in all he undertook. His thorough training and methodical ways earned for him the nickname of "Professor" among his associates. Dana contributed 248 articles to the *Harbinger*.

But the most prolific writer on the staff of the *Harbinger* was John S. Dwight, who heads the list of contributors with 324 articles. Dwight, who, like Ripley, had studied for the ministry, and, like the latter, voluntarily abandoned the pulpit, was a poet, a lover and connoisseur of fine letters and music, and, withal, a man responsive to all appeals of human sufferings and wants.

Prominent in the Fourierist movement of that time was also William Henry Channing, a Unitarian minister famed for his eloquence.

Of other men and women of national fame whose names are identified with the Fourierist movement in this country, we may mention Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, T. W. Higginson, Henry James, James Russell Lowell, Francis G. Shaw, and Margaret Fuller, all of whom, with the exception of the three first named, were contributors to the *Harbinger*.

The *Phalanx* and the *Harbinger* were the classical organs of Fourierism, but they were not its only representatives in the field of periodical literature. In his autobiography already alluded to, Brisbane mentions a weekly magazine run by him in conjunction with Greeley before the establishment of the *Tribune*. The magazine lasted but two months. Brisbane at one time also succeeded in getting the editorial management of the *Chronicle*, a small daily newspaper published in New York by one John Moore, and of a monthly magazine, called the *Democrat*, published by John O'Sullivan. Both papers were converted into ardent advocates of Fourierism.

Besides, the Fourierists of Wisconsin published the

Gleaner, those of Michigan issued a paper called the *Future*, and William Henry Channing published the *Present*.

Another effective factor in the spread of Fourieristic doctrines in this country were the public lectures held by the pioneers of the movement with great frequency. Brisbane, Greeley, Channing, Godwin, Dana, and a host of orators of minor renown, were ever ready to extol the beauties of Association before audiences of any dimensions and in any place within reach. Here is a characteristic notice of one of such meetings published in the *Tribune*, and quoted by Sotheran: *

"T. W. Whitley and H. Greeley will address such citizens of Newark as choose to hear them on the subject of 'Association,' at 7:30 o'clock this evening, at the Relief Hall, rear of J. M. Quimby's Repository."

Extended lecture tours were also undertaken at different times by leading Fourierists, notably by John Allen, John Orvis, and Charles A. Dana, and these lectures and speeches, in a majority of cases, attracted crowds of eager listeners.

The time was exceptionally propitious for the reception of their doctrines. The country was just passing through one of those periodical crises which, when they occur, seem to menace the very foundation of our economic and industrial system. Production had almost ceased, hosts of working men were thrown out of employment, the misery of the population, especially in the industrial cities of the Northeast, was appalling, and vagrancy developed with alarming rapidity.

Charitable organizations and official commissions, appointed for that purpose by several municipalities and States, tried in vain to cope with the situation: it had grown beyond their control. The nation stood bewildered and helpless before the mischievous workings of the blind economic powers. The complacent social philosophy of thousands of thinking men and women was rudely shaken by the mani-

* "Horace Greeley, and Other Pioneers of American Socialism," by Charles Sotheran, New York, 1892.

festations of the crisis, and scores of new social problems were forced upon their attention.

At the same time the antislavery agitation was just commencing to assume serious dimensions, and, as has happened with almost every liberating movement, it soon transcended its original aim and bounds. The denunciations of chattel slavery logically led to the criticism of all other forms of social dependence of men. "Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery" was one of the mottoes of the more radical part of the abolitionist movement, and the key-note of the eloquent appeals of Wendell Phillips and many other popular agitators of the time.

It was at that juncture that Fourierism made its appearance in the United States. It promised to bring permanent order and harmony into industry, and mutual independence in the social relations of men. The promises were bright and alluring, and they were preached by most eloquent tongues. No wonder then that the movement spread rapidly in this country.

Numerous Fourierist societies were formed in the States of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In all these States local conventions were held from time to time, and on the fourth day of April, 1844, a National Convention of Associationists was held. The convention assembled at Clinton Hall, New York, and it was a most noteworthy and enthusiastic gathering. George Ripley was chosen president, and among the vice-presidents were Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and Charles A. Dana.

Letters of sympathy and encouragement were received from all parts of the country. Numerous resolutions were adopted, the most of them dealing with the subject of organizing associations. Associations on the plan of Fourier's phalanxes were declared to be the universal remedy for all social evils, but the adherents were at the same time warned

against experiments undertaken on too small a scale or with insufficient preparations.

The convention also decided to form a permanent National Confederation of Associations, with the *Phalanx* as its official organ, and with a standing executive committee of eighteen. It also declared in favor of international cooperation of Associationists, and appointed Albert Brisbane a committee to confer with the Fourierists of Europe as to the best mode of mutual cooperation.

The period immediately preceding and following the National Convention may be regarded as the high-water mark in the Fourierist movement in this country; in the next chapter we shall witness its decline.

III.—FOURIERIST PHALANXES

FOURIER early foresaw the danger of hasty experiments for the progress of his movement. He declared that a phalanx could not unfold its benefits and beauties, and could not be made a success, unless it had a membership of 1,500 to 2,000 persons, and a capital of about 1,000,000 francs, and to the end of his life he strenuously discountenanced all trials on a smaller scale.

Brisbane modified the high standard of the master by reducing the number of persons required for the formation of a phalanx to 400.

"The most easy plan for starting an Association," he argued, "would be to induce 400 persons to unite, and take each \$1,000 worth of stock, which would form a capital of \$400,000. The stockholders would receive one-quarter of the total product or profits of the Association; if they preferred, they would receive a fixed interest of 8 per cent. The investment of \$1,000 would yield \$80 annual interest. With this sum the Association must guarantee a person a dwelling and living; and this could be done. The edifice could be built for \$150,000, the interest upon which, at 10

per cent., would be \$15,000. Divide this sum by 400, which is the number of persons, and we have \$37.50 per annum for each person as rent. Some of the apartments would consist of several rooms, and rent for \$100 or less, so that about one-half of the rooms could be rented for \$20 per annum. A person wishing to live at the cheapest rates would have, after paying his rent, \$60 left. As the Association would raise all its fruit, grain, vegetables, cattle, etc., and as it would economize immensely in fuel, number of cooks, and everything else, it could furnish the cheapest-priced board at \$60 per annum. Thus a person who invested \$1,000 would be certain of a comfortable room and board for his interest, if he lived economically, and would have whatever he might produce by his labor in addition. He would live, besides, in an elegant edifice surrounded by beautiful fields and gardens."

Brisbane himself and the other leading Fourierists always clung to this ideal of a large and wealthy Association, and from time to time publicly warned the hotspurs of the movement against hasty experiments with insufficient capital and members.

But very little heed was paid to the warning. The able and persistent propaganda of Associationism had created a popular enthusiasm which soon grew beyond the control of the leaders. Fourierism had taken root in the broad masses of the population, and the masses were impatient to realize the bright promises of the new social gospel on the spot.

Phalanxes grew, as it were, spontaneously. They were undertaken by any number of men, large or small, with any, and sometimes without any, capital, and soon covered all States in which Fourierism had taken a foothold, with a veritable network.

The history of these experiments is one monotonous record of failure. The inherent defects of Fourier's scheme of social organization appeared on the surface as soon as it was put to the test of a practical application. The supposed

strength of the scheme, the compromise between the interests of capital and labor, between cooperation and individualism, was, in fact, a source of great weakness. It robbed the Phalanxes, or at least those of them which attempted to organize on the real Fourieristic plan, of that unity of interest and endeavor which is so absolutely indispensable for a social experiment of that nature, and which alone sustained all successful communities during their early trials and struggles.

But, in justice to Fourierism, it must also be admitted that the instances in which the experiments were undertaken on the lines laid down by Fourier or Brisbane were very few, and that more of the failures are attributable to extraneous factors than to the inherent defects of Fourierism. The men who undertook the experiments were, in many cases, in the testimony of Greeley, "destitute alike of capacity, public confidence, energy, and means," especially of means.

Instead of a capital of \$400,000, one four-hundredth part of it would frequently be all an Association would manage to get together for a start. With that sum it was manifestly hard to purchase the fertile and beautiful "domain" in the vicinity of a populated city, as recommended by the originator of the "Phalanxes."

The experimenters, as a rule, had to satisfy themselves with a small parcel of barren land in the wilderness, and that one heavily mortgaged. The distance from the city, and the scantiness of their means, relegated the settlers to agricultural pursuits exclusively, although very few of them were trained farmers. One or more miserable log huts took the place of the gorgeous social "Palace," and the "attractive industry" dwindled down to a pathetic and wearisome struggle of unskilled and awkward hands against the obstinate viles of a sterile and unyielding soil. The struggle, as a rule, lasted until the first instalment on the mortgage became due, and as the mortgagee was never satisfied with the three-twelfths of the profits allotted to capital by Fourier, the "do-

main" was almost invariably foreclosed. The only Phalanxes that attained some significance, and at one time seemed to justify the expectation of permanent success, were the North American Phalanx in New Jersey, the Brook Farm Phalanx, and The Ceresco, or Wisconsin Phalanx in Wisconsin. Of those the first mentioned lasted fully twelve years, and the career of the other two extended over five and six years respectively. The average life of all other known Phalanxes was about fifteen months. A brief sketch of their history will be found in the next chapters.

The Phalanxes were to Fourierism vastly more than the social experiments of other utopian schools were to their theories. While all the other schools of utopian socialism contemplated a social organization on a national scale, and regarded their communities as mere illustrations and miniature models of the future state, the Fourieristic Phalanxes were the final state; they were to their founders not only means of propaganda, but also the realization of their teaching. The peculiar feature of the Fourierist scheme is that it introduces the state of social happiness and equilibrium by instalments. Every Phalanx is a piece of that social state, realized and complete within its limits, and quite independent of the surrounding world. The Phalanxes thus naturally became the test of Fourierism, and the movement did not survive their failure.

In vain did the American apostles of Fourierism protest that the doctrines of their leader had not had a fair trial, and were in no way responsible for the disasters of the numerous social experiments undertaken in haste and carried out in defiance of the teachings of Fourierism. Their protests were not heeded. To the popular mind, *Fourierism* was synonymous with *Phalanx*, and the failure of the latter was proof of the impracticability of the former. Besides, the industrial depression which had greatly assisted the movement in its formative stages, had passed, and with it, the eagerness for radical social reforms.

Fourierism as a theory retained hold of a number of choice intellects for some time, but as a popular movement it disappeared within the same decade that saw its origin and marvelous development—the decade of 1840–1850.

The further career of the originators and champions of this remarkable movement was of a rather variegated nature. Horace Greeley continued taking an active interest in public life. His *Tribune* was a strong and indefatigable champion of the cause of antislavery from the start and until the final triumph of the cause. He was elected to Congress in 1848, and in 1872 he was nominated for the Presidency of the United States by the "Liberal Republican Party," and indorsed by the Democratic Party. He survived his unsuccessful campaign but a short time, and when he died, on November 29, 1872, thousands of the common people in all parts of the United States mourned the loss of a sincere and devoted friend, and his funeral in the city of New York assumed the dimensions of a gigantic popular demonstration. Greeley remained true to the ideals of his youth to the very end.

Albert Brisbane lived till 1890. He spent much of his time in Europe, and devoted the balance of his life to scholarly and artistic pursuits. His entire being was so absorbed by Fourierism that, when the movement ebbed away, it seemed to have taken with it all his vigor and enthusiasm. His public career was closed, and altho he witnessed the rise of the modern socialist movement at home and abroad, he remained a passive though somewhat sympathetic observer of its progress.

George Ripley devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits. He was a regular contributor on the staff of the *Tribune*, and, together with Charles A. Dana, edited the "American Encyclopædia." He died on July 4, 1880.

Dana also joined the staff of the *Tribune* in 1847. He was Assistant Secretary of War under Stanton during the civil war, and in 1868 he established the *New York Sun*.

His radical social views did not survive the Fourierist movement very long, and in later years he and his paper were consistent and able defenders of everything conservative and reactionary in politics. He died in 1898.

John S. Dwight developed into a musical critic of note, and published *Dwight's Journal of Music* from 1852 to 1881. He died in 1893 at the age of eighty years, a kind-hearted, noble, and enthusiastic old man, surrounded by a host of loving friends.

IV.—THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX

OF all the Fourierist experiments undertaken in this country, the North American came probably nearest to the ideal of a "Phalanx." It was established by a number of earnest and cultured residents of New York and Albany for the purpose of "investigating Fourier's theory of social reform as expounded by Albert Brisbane," as its founders expressed it in their declaration of their objects.

Before starting upon the experiment, the advice of Greeley, Brisbane, Godwin, Channing, and Ripley was sought, and Brisbane was one of the committee to select the site of the proposed Association. The site finally selected was near Red Bank, Monmouth County, New Jersey, and in September, 1843, a few families took possession of the domain and at once set to work erecting a temporary dwelling-house. During the next year the number of actual settlers increased to about ninety.

Within a short time the temporary dwelling-house was replaced by a three-story mansion, with a front of 150 feet and a wing of 150 feet. A grist-mill was built on a stream running through the domain, and other industries were carried on in a small way. The chief pursuit of the Association was, however, agriculture. They planted two immense orchards, occupying about seventy acres, of every variety of choice fruit, and their fields and farms were kept in better

order and yielded better crops than those of their neighbors. The original investment of the Association was \$8,000; on the first annual settlement in 1844 its property was inventoried at \$28,000, and in 1852 it had risen in round figures to \$80,000.

As soon as the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the Association were sufficiently developed, production was carried on by groups and series, and in the distribution of profits, Fourier's law of "equitable proportion" was adopted.

For necessary but repulsive or exhausting labor the highest rate of wages was paid; for useful but less repulsive labor the wages were smaller; and the smallest reward was received by those choosing agreeable pursuits.

Thus men engaged in brickmaking received ten cents an hour, those engaged in agriculture about eight cents, while the waiters and Phalanx physician received six and one-quarter cents per hour. In addition to these wages, however, special rewards were paid for skill and talent displayed in any branch of industry or in the administration of the Association's affairs. Thus the chief of the building group, who had to lay out all plans for work from day to day and to supervise the work, received an extra stipend of five cents a day in addition to his regular earnings. The wages of the members, computed on this complicated system, varied from six to ten cents an hour, the latter figure being regarded as the maximum.

The members were given perfect freedom to choose such occupations as they preferred, and to work as much or little as they liked. They were credited with the amount and kind of labor performed by them every day, and were paid in full every month, the profits being divided at the end of the year. The average earnings of labor upon such division of profits amounted to about \$13 per year, while capital received about five per cent. upon the investment. It will be perceived that the earnings of the members were not large, but then the cost of living in the Phalanx was small in proportion.

The rent of a pretty good-sized, comfortable room in the principal mansion was \$12 per year.

Meals were, in later years, served *à la carte*, coffee being half a cent per cup, including milk; butter, half a cent; meat, two cents; pie, two cents; and other things in proportion. In addition to this, each member paid thirty-six and a half cents per week for the use of the dining-room, and his proportion for the waiting labor and for lighting the room. The waiters marked the charges for every meal in a book kept by each member for that purpose, and settlements were made at the end of every month.

The majority of the members of the Association were people of culture and refinement, and life in the Phalanx was exceedingly pleasant, to judge from the enthusiastic accounts of a number of prominent Fourierists who frequently paid them visits. They had a small reading-room and library, they possessed several musical instruments, and singing, dancing, and merrymaking were the order of the day as soon as their labors in the field or shops were over.

"I have often heard strangers remark upon the cheerfulness and elasticity of spirit which struck them on visiting Brook Farm," writes Ripley, "and I found the same thing strongly displayed in the North American Association." Neidhart, commenting upon the appearance of the members, observes: "There is a serene, earnest love about them all, indicating a determination on their part to abide the issue of the great experiment in which they are engaged. The women appeared to be a genial band, with happy, smiling countenances, full of health and spirits. Such deep and earnest eyes, it seemed to me, I had never seen before."

The education of the children was one of the first cares of the Association, equal attention being paid to their physical and intellectual development.

The North American Phalanx endured over twelve years. It was organized at a time when Fourierism was just commencing to make itself felt, and it saw the movement at its

zenith and in its decline. It witnessed the death of all other Phalanxes around it, and remained alone, the solitary monument of a movement that had given so much promise and had ebbed away so soon. This isolated position could not be maintained very long. The material advantages of the community were but small, and, in the first years of its existence, it was largely kept together by the sustaining influence of the enthusiasm born of a broad and live movement of which it was part, and, when that enthusiasm departed, it took with it the very soul of the Association. To all outward appearances the Phalanx continued its existence in all respects with the accustomed regularity, but beneath the surface the powers of dissolution were already working. Dissensions arose over matters of administration, dissatisfaction was occasionally expressed with the scanty earnings and poor prospects of the Association, and the question of disbanding was but a question of time. The dissolution of the Association was hastened by an accident. In September, 1854, the mill of the Association, built at a cost of about \$12,000, was destroyed by fire. Greeley offered to lend them a sum sufficient to rebuild, and the Association assembled to deliberate upon the offer, and to decide upon the location of the new mill. In the course of the discussion some one suggested that they had better not build at all, but dissolve. The suggestion was quite unexpected and irrelevant to the matter under discussion, but it seemed to express the sentiment secretly entertained by the majority of the members, and upon the vote being put, the Association, to everybody's surprise, determined to dissolve. Thus abruptly terminated the existence of the North American Phalanx. Its property was sold at forced sale, and its shareholders were paid sixty-six cents on the dollar.

V.—BROOK FARM

BROOK FARM is the most brilliant and fascinating page in the otherwise rather monotonous and prosaic history of Fourierist experiments in America.

The Farm attracted the noblest minds and choicest spirits of Fourierism, and lent poetry and charm to the entire movement. And still Brook Farm did not commence its career as a Fourieristic experiment. The origin of Brook Farm is to be found in a philosophical and humanitarian movement which originated in New England about the thirties of the last century, and of which Boston was the intellectual center.

The men and women whose names are most closely associated with that movement were George Ripley and his wife, Sophia Ripley; William Ellery Channing and his nephew, W. H. Channing; Margaret Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John S. Dwight, Elizabeth P. Peabody, and scores of others whose names have since become part of our national history.

They were idealists and enthusiasts, and ardent advocates of all social, political, and religious reforms agitated in their days.

They met at irregular intervals at one another's houses and discussed all possible and impossible problems of philosophy, politics, and religion, and, altho they had no formal organization between themselves, they soon came to be known to the outside world as the "Transcendental Club."

The name was originally intended as an appellation of derision, but, as happened so often in history, it was subsequently adopted and borne with pride by the objects of the intended ridicule.

How the skeptical matter-of-fact critics of the movement understood the term *Transcendentalists* was probably best

expressed by the terse and witty definition of Miss Taylor, who said of them that they "dove into the infinite, soared into the illimitable, and never paid cash." The interpretation placed upon the word by the transcendentalists themselves is, on the other hand, expressed by Ripley in the following language: "We are called Transcendentalists because we believe in an order of truth that transcends the sphere of the external senses. Our leading idea is the supremacy of mind over matter."

The "Transcendental Club" existed several years, and the immediate fruit of its labors was a quarter-annual magazine of high literary standard, called *The Dial*. *The Dial* was published at irregular intervals, and contained many valuable contributions from the gifted pens of the famous men and women connected with the movement.

In 1840 Ripley finally decided to make a practical application of the principles and theories advocated by the transcendentalists. He resigned from the ministry, and, encouraged by a few of the more ardent spirits of the "Club," he set out to establish a community. A location was chosen in the spring of 1841. It was a farm in West Roxbury, about nine miles from Boston. The place was originally a milk farm, and belonged to one Mr. Ellis. It consisted of about 200 acres of good land, and was extremely picturesque. The first settlers consisted of about twenty persons, including Ripley himself, his wife and sister, Dwight, Hawthorne, and William Allen. But few of the remaining members of the Transcendental Club followed Ripley to the Farm.

The official name adopted by the little colony was The Brook Farm Institute for Agriculture and Education, and the object of the Institute was formulated by its founders in their Articles of Association, as follows:

"To more effectually promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with

the laws of Divine Providence; *to substitute a system of brotherly cooperation for one of selfish competition*; to secure for our children, and to those who may be entrusted to our care, the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual, and moral education which, in the present state of human knowledge, the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient, and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other the means of physical support and of spiritual progress, and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement, and moral dignity to our mode of life."

By their Articles of Association they also agreed that the property of the community be represented by shares of stock; that all members be provided with employment according to their abilities and tastes. They also provided for a uniform rate of compensation for all labor; for a maximum working day of ten hours; for the free support of all children under the age of ten years, and persons over the age of seventy years, as well as of all those who may be unable to work on account of sickness; for free education, medical attendance, and use of library and bath.

The administration of the community was lodged in four committees of three, styled respectively the Departments of General Direction, Direction of Agriculture, Direction of Education, and Direction of Finance.

It will thus be perceived that the Brook Farmers, consciously or unconsciously, showed a decided leaning toward Fourierism from the start, and that their subsequent formal reorganization as a Phalanx was an easy and logical development, rather than a sudden conversion, as it has been represented to have been.

The principal feature of the young community was its

school. This was divided into four departments: an infant school for children under the age of six years, a primary school for children under ten, a preparatory school for pupils intending to pursue the higher branches of study in the institution, and a six years' course to prepare young men for college.

A wide range of sciences and arts was taught under the skilful and loving guidance of many competent instructors, and equal attention was paid to physical and moral development. Many men, who subsequently played an important part in the literary and political life of the country, owed much of their achievements to their education in the Brook Farm School. Among the most brilliant of such scholars were the Curtis brothers—James Burrill, who made a name for himself in the scientific world of England, where he ultimately made his home, and George William, the well-known novelist and one-time editor of *Harper's Weekly*; Francis Channing Barlow, who became a general in the civil war and later held the offices of Secretary of State and Attorney-General in the State of New York; Colonel George Duncan Wells, noted for his bravery in the civil war; and Dr. John Thomas Codman, who wrote a charming book of reminiscences of Brook Farm.*

In the course of the following three years the number of members grew to about seventy. The financial success of the Farm was but very moderate, and the life full of toil and devoid of earthly comforts. But the Brook Farmers had the extraordinary skill to cover their poverty with the attractive veil of poetry, and to infuse charm and romance into their prosaic every-day occupations. After the day's work was over, it was customary for the young men to repair to the kitchen and laundry, and to gallantly offer their services in dish-washing or clothes-hanging to the ladies. This done, a dance or games would be improvised in which all the young

* "Brook Farm, Historic and Personal Memoirs," by John Thomas Codman, Boston, 1894.

people of the Farm would participate, while the older men and women would be interested and sympathetic on-lookers.

Music, excursions, and literary and scientific discussions would fill out all leisure hours, and, all told, the Brook Farmers were a happy and congenial lot of men, women, and children.

Life on the Farm was rendered still more attractive by the frequent visits of friends from the outside world. Among the most frequent and most welcome visitors were Margaret Fuller, both Channings, Theodore Parker, Miss Peabody, and, later on, Horace Greeley, Albert Brisbane, Parke Godwin, and other leaders of the Fourierist movement.

In the beginning of 1844, a short time after the National Convention of Associations, Brook Farm declared itself formally a Fourieristic community, and changed its name to "Brook Farm Phalanx."

The transition did not effect a radical change in the plan of organization and mode of life of the settlement. But it added a new feature to it. Brook Farm became the center and fountain-head of Fourierist propaganda. Early in 1844 the publication of the *Harbinger* was transferred to the Farm, and the presence of the high-class weekly journal opened a new field of activity for the literary talents of the Brook Farmers. The editorial department was in charge of Ripley, Dana was the principal reviewer, Dwight the art critic, Orvis wrote principally on Association, Ryckman was a steady contributor, other members of the Farm wrote occasionally an article or poem, and all of them took a lively interest in the magazine, discussing the merits and demerits of every article, and hailing the appearance of every new number as an event. In addition to the publication of the *Harbinger*, the Brook Farmers promoted the cause of Fourierism in various ways, and frequently sent out some of its most eloquent and efficient members to preach the blessings of Association to the outside world. The lecture tours thus undertaken by Dana,

Allen, and Orvis are the most noteworthy enterprises of the Farm in that direction.

It was at that time that the Association was incorporated by a special act of the Massachusetts Legislature, and at that time, also, that it was decided to build a large unitary building on the Farm.

Brook Farm was now in its most prosperous phase. It had become famous throughout the length and breadth of the country. Its visitors numbered by the thousands every year, it was showered with applications for admission to membership, and its financial returns were slowly but gradually improving.

The Farm was all activity and hope, and bubbling over with life and fun. But the main interest of the members was centered on the unitary Phalanx building, or "Palace," on which they had worked indefatigably over two years, and which was now nearing completion.

It was expected that the large building would enable the Association to admit to membership many deserving applicants, who had so far been kept back on account of the lack of accommodations on the Farm, and that the resources and working capacity of the settlement would be greatly strengthened by the accession of membership.

It was on a fine spring evening in 1846, amid these pleasurable expectations, that the Brook Farmers, most of whom were dancing and merrymaking as usual, were startled by the cry, "The phalanstery is on fire!"

And sure enough it was. Through some negligence of the workmen who were engaged in putting the finishing touches on it, the large wooden structure had caught fire, and the heartbroken Brook Farmers gazed on in helpless terror as the flames mercilessly enveloped the object of all their labors and hopes, and rapidly reduced it to ashes. Had the loss occurred a couple of years earlier, when the Fourierist movement was still strong, Brook Farm might perhaps have recovered from it; but in 1846 the movement was

already on the wane, the enthusiasm of its votaries in Brook Farm was considerably dampened, and the destruction of the phalanstery proved fatal to the further existence of the Farm, in the same way as the destruction of its mill was fatal to the existence of the North American Phalanx. The Association struggled through the following spring and summer, but in the autumn it gradually broke up, the *Harbinger* was transferred to New York, and the property of the Association sold. The site of Brook Farm is now occupied by an orphan asylum maintained by a Lutheran church.*

VI.—THE WISCONSIN PHALANX, OR CERESCO

OF all Fourieristic experiments, the Wisconsin Phalanx was conducted on soundest business principles, much of its material success being due to the great administrative abilities of Warren Chase, who was its leading spirit from the first to the last.

The Association was organized in May, 1844, in the county of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The country was uninhabited for miles in all directions, and land was extremely cheap, selling at \$1.25 per acre.

The settlers paid cash for their land, and it was one of the distinguishing features of the Association that it never incurred debts on its property.

The original settlers, about twenty in number, came with teams, stock, tents, and implements of husbandry, and speedily erected a large dwelling-house and sawmill. Within a few months from their arrival they were joined by their families, and in less than one year the number of resident members increased to about 180. They drew up a charter and by-laws, under which they were incorporated by the

* For a complete account of the Brook Farm experiment, see Lindsay Swift, "Brook Farm, Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors," New York, 1900.

Legislature as the "Wisconsin Phalanx," and they founded the township of Ceresco, which was likewise chartered by the Legislature. There were but few settlers in the town outside of the members of the Phalanx, and the latter were, therefore, elected to all town offices. By the laws of the State they were required to elect, among others, three justices of the peace, but, as they had no criminals and no litigation of any kind, the office became a purely complimentary one, and they regularly elected their three oldest men to fill it. They also elected one of their members to each of the two Constitutional Conventions held in Michigan during the period of their existence, and they sent three of their members to the State Senate. One of their members even ran for the office of Governor on the Free-Soil ticket, but he received a very small vote outside of the township, and was defeated. They also applied for and obtained a post-office in their town, and one of their members held the office of postmaster until the administration of Taylor.

They commenced operations with a very small capital, which gradually increased to about \$33,000.

They were very industrious, had over 700 acres of land under cultivation, and raised over 10,000 bushels of wheat in one season.

They never fully introduced the system of work in groups and series, but strove to fix the reward for labor, capital, and talent as much in accord with the precepts of Fourierism as practicable. The average wage was six to seven cents per hour; the average cost of board was sixty to seventy-five cents per week. They were very careful in the selection of new members, and admitted none who either from insufficient means or from physical weakness were likely to become a burden on their community.

They had a free school, but intellectual pursuits and social life were rather neglected. They had no library or reading-room, and no social gatherings or entertainment of any account. All told, the Wisconsin Phalanx surpassed the other

Fourierist experiments in point of material prosperity, but fell short of the average in culture and refinement.

The standing disagreement in the Association was over the subject of unitary, or isolated, households. The settlement was about evenly divided on the question, and their township elections mainly turned on that issue.

The partizans of unitary households always carried by a narrow majority, and hence a common dining-room and common mansion were maintained, but the minority was not disposed to submit, and continued to live in single families and to carry on their households in separate family dwellings.

This issue, together with a number of contributing causes, of which lack of harmony and enthusiasm are to be counted among the foremost, finally induced the Associationists to dissolve. The formal dissolution and division of profits took place in 1850. The sale of the property yielded 108 per cent. of the investments, the only instance where a Phalanx dissolved without a loss to its founders and stockholders.

VII.—THE PENNSYLVANIA GROUP

THE northern portion of the State of Pennsylvania was, in the middle of the last century, a most unpropitiate location for settlers. The region was a rocky desert, with no industrial or business center for miles in all directions, and the land was barren and cold, and thickly covered with boulders. But the cheapness of the land proved an irresistible attraction for our social experimenters, and no less than seven Fourieristic settlements are known to have been established in that region between the years 1843 and 1845. Of these, the most noteworthy are the Sylvania Association, the Peace Union Settlement, the Social Reform Unity, and the Leraysville Phalanx.

THE SYLVANIA ASSOCIATION was the first Fourierist Phalanx in the United States. It was founded in May, 1843, by a number of residents of New York and Albany. Thomas

W. Whitley was its president and Horace Greeley was its treasurer. The domain was selected by a committee consisting of a landscape painter, a homeopathic doctor, and a cooper; it consisted of 2,300 acres, situated in the township of Lackawaxen, Pike County. It contained a dilapidated grist-mill, which was speedily repaired by the settlers, and three two-story frame houses, which at one time had to accommodate all of the members, 136 in number. Later on the settlers built a large common dwelling-house, forty feet square and three stories high.

They had agreed to pay for their land \$9,000, in yearly instalments of \$1,000, and made the first payment on taking possession, but when the second payment fell due they found themselves unable to meet it, and the owner generously consented to take back the land with all improvements made by the settlers, and to release them of further obligations. The Sylvania Association existed about eighteen months.

THE PEACE UNION SETTLEMENT was situated in Warren County, and consisted of about 10,000 acres of land. It was founded by Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar, an Austrian Professor of Biblical Study and Criticism, who considered it his special mission to establish universal peace on earth. The colony consisted almost exclusively of Germans, and the settlers abandoned the experiment after a brief but fierce struggle with the stubborn soil of their domain.

THE SOCIAL REFORM UNITY was established by a group of Fourierists of Brooklyn, N. Y. The domain consisted of 2,000 acres, situated in Pike County, Pennsylvania. The land was sold to the settlers for \$1.25 per acre, but they only paid on account of the entire purchase \$100, or five cents per acre.

They prepared and printed a very elaborate constitution, of which they, however, never made use. The barrenness of the soil, their inexperience in farming, and their extreme poverty, caused the dissolution of the Association within a very few months.

THE LERAYSVILLE PHALANX came into existence in a

unique manner. Near the village of Leraysville, in the county of Bradford, there were seven adjoining farms. The owners of the farms were all Swedenborgians, the most influential among them being Dr. Lemuel C. Belding, a pastor of the Church of New Jerusalem.

When the tide of Fourierism reached the little congregation, Dr. Belding and his friends decided to unite their seven farms into one domain. Amid impressive ceremonies they tore down the old division fences, and each of them turned over his farm to the Phalanx, at an appraised value, receiving shares in exchange. The seven original founders were soon joined by additional members, among whom were several physicians, clergymen, and lawyers, and a number of mechanics. The beginnings of the settlement were very promising, but an antagonism soon developed between the original owners of the domain and the newcomers, and the Association was dissolved after the brief existence of eight months.

VIII.—THE NEW YORK GROUP

THE western part of the State of New York was at one time the hotbed of the Fourierist movement. There was hardly a village or hamlet in the county of Genesee, the native county of Albert Brisbane, and in the neighboring counties of Monroe and Ontario, which did not contain one or more groups of Fourierists.

Brisbane devoted much of his time to propaganda of the principles of Association in that region; some well-attended county conventions were held in Batavia and Rochester, and Phalanxes were organized on a large scale.

Noyes describes seven experiments growing out of that movement whose history is almost identical. They were all undertaken with great enthusiasm and little preparation, were short-lived, and entailed heavy financial losses to their founders.

The most important of the New York phalanxes are the

CLARKSON PHALANX, the SODUS BAY PHALANX, the BLOOMFIELD ASSOCIATION, and the ONTARIO UNION.

The four Associations had a common origin, their organization having been decided upon at a mass convention held in Rochester in August, 1843. They were located on the shores of Lake Ontario, within a short distance from each other, and together had over 1,000 members and more than \$100,000 of invested capital. Their average life was a little less than a year.

This group of Phalanxes is noteworthy for the reason that it was the only one to form a confederation of Associations.

The confederation was styled the "American Industrial Union." Its administration was vested in a council consisting of representatives of all its component Phalanxes.

The council met once in May, 1844, and passed resolutions for a uniform conduct of the affairs of the Phalanxes, and for a system of exchange of products between them. But the resolutions were never acted upon.

The failure of the New York experiments created a deep and lasting prejudice against Fourierism in the region which had once been its stronghold.

IX.—THE OHIO GROUP

NOYES records the history of five Phalanxes in the State of Ohio. Of these the most important seems to have been the

TRUMBULL PHALANX, in Trumbull County. This Phalanx was founded in the early part of 1844, and lasted until the fall of 1847.

The domain of the Association consisted of about 1,500 acres of land, partly purchased by the founders of the Phalanx, and partly contributed by some neighboring farmers in exchange for the Association's stock.

The land was swampy and bred ague and a variety of other diseases; the accommodations consisted of but a few

insignificant dwelling-houses overcrowded to the utmost capacity, and the luxuries and comforts indulged in by the members can be easily inferred from the fact that the average cost of living was estimated at forty cents per week for every member.

Under these adverse circumstances 250 men, women, and children, most of whom had given up comfortable homes, struggled on for over three and a half years with an energy and self-abnegation which excited the admiration of their contemporaries.

But the hopelessness of struggle at last dawned upon the most sanguine of them, and reluctantly they abandoned the enterprise from which they had hoped so much and for which they had sacrificed so much.

The OHIO PHALANX was ushered in with much flourish of trumpets, and at one time the Associationists expected great things from it. Among its founders were E. P. Grant, Van Amringe, and other lights of Fourierism, and \$100,000 was pledged for its support at an enthusiastic mass convention at which its organization was decided upon.

The Association was founded in March, 1844, on a domain of about 2,000 acres of land, near Wheeling, in the county of Belmont, Ohio.

It seems to have suffered from a superabundance of theoretical lore and from a proportionate lack of practical experience. During the short period of its existence it had many discussions, several splits of a more or less grave character, and one radical reorganization. It was finally dissolved in June, 1845.

The CLERMONT PHALANX and the INTEGRAL PHALANX both originated in Cincinnati, and were located within short distances from that city. Both experiments were conducted with the capital of their founders, and both experiments were failures. The Integral Phalanx published a magazine under the title of *Plowshare and Pruning-Hook*. The magazine was devoted to the teachings of Fourier in general, and to

the interests of the Phalanx in particular; it was to appear biweekly, but only two numbers of it seem to have been printed.

The COLUMBIAN PHALANX is the name of another Fourierist experiment in the State of Ohio. But no particulars about the existence of that Association have become public, save that it was located in Franklin County and was organized in 1845.

X.—OTHER FOURIERIST EXPERIMENTS

OF other Phalanxes whose records have been transmitted to us, four were located in Michigan, and several in Iowa and Illinois. Of these, the ALPHADELPHIA PHALANX, in Michigan, was the most important. It lasted over a year, and published a magazine under the title of *Tocsin*. Its leading spirit was one Dr. Schetterly, a disciple of Brisbane.

All told, Noyes collected data of no less than forty-one Phalanxes, of which he found accounts or mention in McDonald's collection,* or in the files of the *Phalanx* and *Harbinger*, and many more probably existed of which no record was left. To appreciate the full extent of the movement, we must bear in mind that in all France, the home of Fourierism, no more than two Phalanxes were ever attempted, and only one of them in the lifetime of Fourier.

* McDonald was the first historian of American Communities. He visited most of the communistic societies in person, and wrote down the results of his investigations and observations. After his death Noyes secured the manuscripts. His "History of American Socialisms" is largely based on the accounts of McDonald.

CHAPTER IV

The Icarian Communities

I.—THE ORIGIN OF ICARIA

AMONG the most interesting pages in the history of American Communism are those relating to the Icarian experiments. The records of patient sufferings, heroic devotion, and acrimonious feuds of these colonies cover almost half a century; they are full of pathos and instruction, and have been the subject of numerous monographs, pamphlets, and magazine articles.

Étienne Cabet, the founder and spiritual father of the Icarian communities, was born in Dijon, France, in 1788. He received an excellent education, studied medicine and law, and met with considerable success in the practise of the latter profession in his native town. At an early age he settled in Paris, where he affiliated himself with the secret revolutionary societies, in which the capital of France abounded at that time.

In the revolution of 1830 he took a leading part as a member of the "Insurrection Committee," and upon the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, he was appointed Attorney-General for Corsica. This appointment was a shrewd move on the part of the Government to banish the dangerous Democrat from the revolutionary atmosphere of Paris under the guise of a reward for his services during the revolution. But the advisers of the "citizen-king" did not reckon with the upright instincts of Cabet, and no sooner had the new Attorney-General assumed the duties of his office in Corsica, than we find him aggressively active in the ranks of the radical anti-administration party. As was to be expected, he was removed from office with due despatch, and in 1834 his townsmen of Dijon elected him as their deputy

in the lower chamber. His steadfast opposition to the administration, and revolutionary attitude in the chamber, again drew on him the wrath of the Government, and having been tried on a charge of "*lèse-majesté*," he was given the choice between two years of imprisonment and five years of exile.

Cabet chose the latter alternative, and emigrated to England. Here the busy politician for the first time found leisure for study and meditation, and as a result of both, he evolved a system of communism very similar to that of Robert Owen.

Returning to France in 1839, Cabet published his views in a work entitled "*Voyage en Icarie*" ("*Voyage in Icaria*"), and the publication of that book marked a turning-point in his entire career. "*Voyage en Icarie*" is in the form of a novel, and its very simple plot, briefly summed up, is this: Lord Carisdall, a young English nobleman, has by chance learned of the existence of a remote and isolated country known as Icaria. The unusual mode of life, habits, and form of government of the Icarians excite his lordship's curiosity, and he decides to visit their country. "*Voyage en Icarie*" purports to be a journal in which our traveler records his remarkable experiences and discoveries in the strange country.

The first part of the book contains a glowing account of the blessings of the cooperative system of industry of the Icarians, their varied occupations and accomplishments, comfortable mode of life, admirable system of education, high morality, political freedom, equality of sexes, and general happiness. The second part contains a history of Icaria. It appears that the social order of the country had been similar to that prevailing in the rest of the world, until 1782, when the great national hero, Icar, after a successful revolution, established the system of communism.

This recital gives Cabet the opportunity for a scathing criticism of the faults of the present social structure, and also to outline his favorite measures for the transition from that system to the new *régime*.

Prominent among those measures are the progressive income tax, abolition of the right of inheritance, state regulation of wages, national workshops, agricultural colonies, and, above all, a thorough and liberal system of education. The last part of the book is devoted to the history of development of the idea of communism, and contains a summary of the views of almost all known writers on the subject, from Plato down to the famous utopians of the early part of the nineteenth century. The plan of the novel does not differ materially from that of More's "Utopia" or Morelly's "Basiliade," both of which were published before Cabet's work, or from that of Bellamy's, Howell's, or Hertzka's utopian novels, published after it, but the success of the book was extraordinary.

Between the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the masses of France were in a constant state of vague discontent seeking some definite expression, and Cabet's work, with its popular style, its strong arraignment of the existing social order, and glowing pictures of a happy brotherhood of man, was acclaimed by them as a new gospel. Edition after edition of the book was published, and there were not many working men in France who had not read it.

Encouraged by the brilliant reception of "Voyage en Icarie," Cabet devoted himself entirely to the propaganda of his communistic ideas, and for that purpose published, between 1840 and 1847, the *Populaire* and the *Icarian Almanac*.

By means of these periodicals, the "Voyage," and other works, he gained a powerful influence among the French working men, and in 1847 was said to have no less than 400,000 adherents among them.

When Cabet wrote his "Voyage en Icarie" he most likely intended merely to express his general views on social problems, applicable to any country in civilization, and with no expectation of making those views the subject of an immediate social experiment. But, as the agitation for "Icarianism" grew stronger, and gave rise to much heated contro-

versy with opponents of the movement, his enthusiastic adherents urged the necessity of founding an "Icarian" colony, in order to vindicate the truth of his theories by a practical demonstration. Accordingly, Cabet published in May, 1847, a proclamation to the French working men under the heading, "Allons en Icarie!" ("Let us go to Icaria!")

The language of the proclamation is in the style of exultant enthusiasm characteristic of Cabet.

Recounting the hardships and persecutions to which the Icarians were subjected in France, and declaring that a revolution in their fatherland, even if successful, would not avail the working class, it unfolds a magnificent vista of the future of the Icarian settlement. Cabet believed that not less than 10,000 to 20,000 working men would immediately respond to the appeal, and that within a short time a million of skilled laborers and mechanics would follow them. With such an army he expected to build immense cities and villages on the communistic plan, with large industries, schools, theaters, etc.; in short, a veritable paradise on earth, with a happy population of equals. The document wound up with an eloquent description of the beautiful climate and fertile soil of "America."

The proclamation had a magic effect on the Icarians. Cabet received from his enthusiastic disciples thousands of letters containing offers of gifts for the prospective community. The offers embraced articles of household furniture, tools, clothing, pictures, guns, seeds, libraries, jewelry, money, and everything imaginable, including, of course, a number of highly valuable inventions of all kinds to be tested in the new colony. A few weeks after the proclamation was issued, Cabet announced in the *Populaire* that he expected to unite more than a million cooperators for his enterprise.

It now became necessary to fix upon a more definite location of the proposed settlement than the very vague "America," and in September, 1847, Cabet went to London to seek the counsel of Robert Owen on that point. Owen recom-

mended Texas. Texas at that time had just been admitted to the Union, and eagerly sought to populate its vast unoccupied territory. Large grants of land were made by the new State to private concerns on condition of securing settlers, and the representative of one of such concerns—the Peters Company—just happened to be in London in January, 1848. Cabet, upon learning of that fact, immediately went to London again, and on January 3, 1848, made a contract with the Peters Company by which the latter agreed to deed to him a million acres of land in Texas on condition that the colony take possession of it before July 1, 1848.

Cabet was happy, and immediately announced in the columns of his *Populaire* that “after a careful examination of all available countries,” he had chosen a beautiful and fertile tract of land in Texas for the proposed colony.

The first “advance-guard,” consisting of sixty-nine persons, sailed from Havre in February, 1848. Their departure was preceded by a very impressive ceremony on the pier. The pioneers solemnly signed a “social contract” pledging themselves to the principles of communism; Cabet delivered a touching address on the aims and the future of the movement, and, returning home, he wrote in the *Populaire*: “In view of men like the advance-guard, I can not doubt the regeneration of the human race. . . . The 3d of February, 1848, will be an epoch-making date, for on that day one of the grandest acts in the history of the human race was accomplished—the advance-guard departing on the ship ‘Rome’ has left for Icaria. . . . May the winds and waves be propitious to you, soldiers of humanity! And we, Icarians, who remain, let us prepare, without loss of time, to rejoin our friends and brothers!”

II.—TEXAS

THE “advance-guard” of the Icarians arrived at New Orleans on the 27th of March, 1848, and their disappointments

commenced immediately. It appeared that Cabet was not up to the smart business methods of our American land agents, and that he had taken the statements of the representative of the Peters Company too literally. The Icarians had been led to believe that the lands of the Peters Company were washed by the Red River and were accessible by boat, but, on consulting the map, it appeared that "Icaria" was separated from the river by a trackless wilderness of over 250 miles.

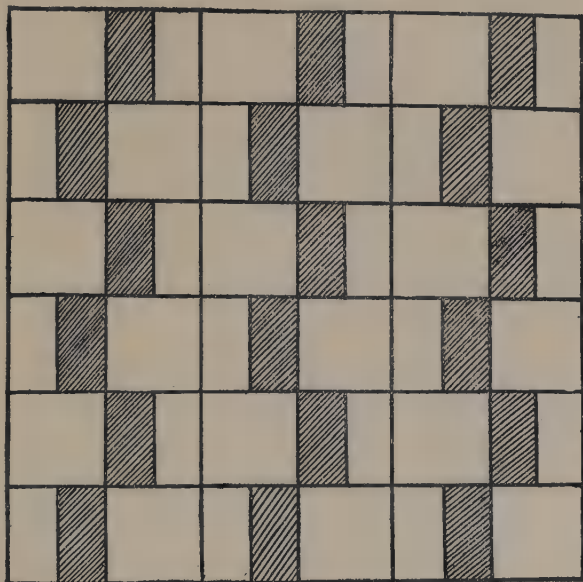
Another disappointment, not less grave, the pioneers found in the peculiar apportionment of the land. The State of Texas had divided its unoccupied territory into square sections of 640 acres (one square mile) each, and had granted to the Peters Company the alternate sections of a certain tract of land. The Peters Company, in turn, divided its sections into half-sections of 320 acres, and ceded to the Icarians the alternate half-sections. To give our readers a clear idea of the location of the lands of our Icarian settlers, we reproduce on the next page the diagram, published by Dr. Albert Shaw in his "Icaria."

In this diagram the blank sections represent the land reserved by the State of Texas, the blank half-sections represent the land retained by the Peters Company, and the shaded half-sections represent the land acquired by Cabet.

The absurdity of attempting to establish a communistic colony with a central administration and a cooperative system of industry and agriculture on many scattered and disjointed parcels of land is so obvious that it needs no comment.

Nor was this all. The *Populaire* had assured the Icarians that 1,000,000 acres of land had been acquired by Cabet, but upon a closer inspection it appeared that the contract of the Peters Company provided expressly that 3,125 persons, or families, should each receive 320 acres of land, provided they take actual possession, *i.e.*, build at least a log cabin on their respective parcels before July 1, 1848. And as the

small advance-guard could not very well build more than about thirty log cabins before July 1, 1848, they could secure no more than about 10,000 acres, or one-hundredth part of the promised million.



Distribution of Icarian Lands in Texas.

These disappointments, however, did not deter the resolute band from their course. Arrived at Shreveport, they secured a few ox-teams and one wagon, and started on the march to Icaria. The hardships of this tedious trudge can hardly be described. Their only wagon broke down, their supplies gave out, and sickness set in. At last they arrived in the promised land, a sick and weary lot.

But with the energy and good cheer characteristic of the pioneer, they set to work without loss of time. A small log house and several sheds were built, and they commenced plowing the prairie. In the mean while July had arrived,

and with it the malarial fever. The weakened and over-worked Icarians fell an easy prey to the disease, four of their number died, their only physician became hopelessly insane, and every man in the settlement was sick.

Such was the condition of the affairs in September, when part of the second advance-guard of Icarians, about ten in number (the second advance-guard consisted of nineteen men, instead of the promised 1,500, and part of these did not reach Icaria, having fallen sick on the way), joined them. Under these circumstances the pioneers decided to abandon Texas. To facilitate the retreat, they divided themselves into groups of two to four men, supplying each man with about \$6, all that was left them, and after much suffering the weary party arrived at New Orleans in the winter of 1848. There they were joined by several new detachments of Icarian emigrants from France, including Cabet himself.

By this time the Icarian movement had lost much of its strength in France. The February revolution of 1848 overthrew the kingdom of Louis Philippe, and established the Second Republic, the "right to labor" was proclaimed, and the "national workshops" were launched. The working men of France were full of hope for the social regeneration of their country, and the movement to establish a great communistic state abroad appealed but little to them.

The million of Icarians expected by Cabet toward the close of 1847 dwindled down to less than 500, who gathered around him in New Orleans in December, 1848, and January, 1849.

The funds of the Icarians amounted at that time to about \$17,000.

To undertake a new emigration to Texas with such meager means, and after the discouraging experience of the first advance-guard, was out of the question, and the Icarians resigned themselves to remaining in New Orleans until a proper location could be secured.

In the mean while dissensions arose among the Icarians,

resulting in the withdrawal of about 200 of their number. The remainder, about 280 in number, finally fixed upon Nauvoo, Ill., as a place of settlement, and arrived at that town in the middle of March, 1849, having lost twenty men in transit as victims of cholera.

III.—NAUVOO

THE town of Nauvoo, in Hancock County, Illinois, was built up by Mormons under the leadership of Joseph Smith. In 1845, when the population of Chicago numbered about 8,000, Nauvoo had 15,000 inhabitants, and was the most prosperous and flourishing town in the State.

But the persecution of the Mormons became very intense. Joseph Smith was killed, and his successor, Brigham Young, organized a general migration of his followers to Utah.

In 1849, Nauvoo, with its large stretches of cultivated land and its numerous buildings, was practically abandoned save for the solitary Mormon agent who remained in charge of the property, wistfully looking for purchasers or tenants.

The opportunity seemed to our Icarians almost providential, and they were not slow in taking advantage of it.

They rented about 800 acres of land, purchased a mill, distillery, and several houses, and for the first time fortune seemed to smile on them.

The next six or seven years marked a general era of prosperity in the history of Icaria. Their main building was a structure about 150 feet wide, and was used as a common dining-hall, assembly-room, etc. Besides, they had a school-house, workshops, a forty-room dwelling-house, and a number of smaller houses.

They kept about 1,000 acres of rented land under cultivation, operated a flouring-mill, sawmill, and whisky distillery, conducted some tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentering shops, and their property was estimated at about \$75,000. Nor were the intellectual and ethical sides of their life

neglected. In their schools the children were taught a variety of subjects and carefully trained in the principles of the Icarian philosophy. They published newspapers, pamphlets, and books in English, French, and German for the propaganda of their ideas, maintained a library of over 5,000 volumes, and frequently indulged in the pleasures of theatricals, music, and dances.

Their membership had almost doubled during that time, and the future of Icaria seemed bright with brilliant promises.

But beneath the serene surface trouble was already brewing. In February, 1850, the Icarians adopted a constitution which provided for the administration of their affairs by a board of six directors. Of these directors, the first was the president of the community, and the other five were at the head of its following departments respectively:

1. Finance and Provisions.
2. Clothing and Lodging.
3. Education, Health, and Amusement.
4. Industry and Agriculture.
5. Printing-Office.

The acts of the board of directors were, however, subject to the approval of the General Assembly, consisting of all male members over twenty years old.

Under this constitution Cabet was elected president from year to year, and at first exercised his power very discreetly. But as the years rolled on, the founder of Icaria grew older, narrower, and more arbitrary, and his actions gave frequent cause for unpleasant friction.

In these disputes, which gradually grew quite acrimonious, the members of the administration grouped themselves around Cabet, while the opposition dominated the General Assembly.

The hostilities of the two parties, now open and now concealed, continued with more or less vigor until August 3, 1856, when the final breach occurred. The immediate oc-

casion for the rupture was the semiannual election of directors. The three new directors chosen were opponents of Cabet, and the latter and his followers refused to recognize them.

Chaos and pandemonium now reigned in Icaria. The belligerent factions were loud in their denunciations of each other; manifestos, proclamations, appeals, and libels were busily published; acts of physical violence became an everyday occurrence, until the civil authorities of Nauvoo intervened, and installed the newly elected directors by force. Cabet and his party were not inclined to submit to defeat gracefully. They ceased to work, rented a separate building for their faction, and did their utmost to bring about the dissolution of the community, going to the extent of petitioning the State Legislature to revoke the charter of Icaria.

In October, 1856, Cabet was formally expelled from membership in the community, and at the beginning of November he, with his faithful minority of about 180 persons, left Nauvoo for St. Louis.

A week later Étienne Cabet was no more.

The father of Icaria and originator of one of the strongest popular movements in France of the middle of the last century succumbed to a sudden stroke of apoplexy in St. Louis on the eighth day of November, 1856. He died far away from the fatherland he loved so dearly, and an exile from the community on which all his thoughts and interests had been centered during the last years of his life.

IV.—CHELTENHAM

THE faithful band of 180 who had followed Cabet to St. Louis now found themselves in a pitiable plight. Bereft of their leader, with no means to speak of, and the inclement winter before them, they could not think of establishing a new colony just then.

The men, almost all of whom were skilled in one trade or another, accordingly secured work and remained in St. Louis until May, 1858, when the greater part of them, about 150 in number, migrated to Cheltenham, to resume their interrupted community life.

Cheltenham was an estate of twenty-eight acres, lying about six miles west of St. Louis. It contained a large stone building and six small log houses, and was very near the city. But unfortunately these advantages were more than balanced by the unfavorable features of the estate: the place was a veritable hotbed of fever; the purchase price, \$25,000, was excessive, and as the cash payment was but small, the mortgage was correspondingly heavy.

But our Icarians were not discouraged. With a zeal born of enthusiasm, they went to work building up the social and industrial organization of their new colony. They set up numerous workshops, which did pretty remunerative work for customers in the near-by St. Louis, established a printing-office, schools, the indispensable music band and theater, and provided for periodical lecture courses and discussions.

Cabet's name lent them great prestige with the Icarians in France; they were recognized as the only genuine Icarian community by the Paris Bureau, and received much financial and moral encouragement from the old fatherland. One subscription opened in Paris for their benefit netted them as much as \$10,000.

Their material prosperity seemed to be insured in 1859, when the old and fatal issue of all Icarian communities, the form of administration, reappeared in their discussions. This issue divided the Cheltenham settlers into two opposite camps. The majority, consisting mainly of the older members, believed in a single leader with dictatorial powers, while the younger elements advocated a democratic form of government. The contest terminated in a complete victory of the conservative elements, and the defeated minority, forty-two in number, withdrew from the community in a body. The

loss of so many able-bodied men was a blow to the young community from which it never recovered.

The industry of Cheltenham was crippled, its social life became cheerless, and members steadily withdrew, until, in 1864, the community consisted of fifteen adults of both sexes and some children.

It was a sorrowful day when the last president of the Cheltenham Community, the heroic and devoted A. Sauva, called a meeting of these last Mohicans, and, amid the loud sobs of the last "Popular Assembly," declared Cheltenham formally dissolved.

V.—IOWA

THE first split in the ranks of the Icarians affected the Nauvoo settlers hardly less injuriously than the Cheltenham seceders.

The withdrawal of Cabet and his large following deranged their entire industrial system; their property shrank together, while their debts increased very rapidly, and to escape certain decomposition, they decided upon a new change of locality. Nauvoo had always been regarded by the Icarians as a temporary settlement. The place was too small and too near the heart of civilization for their grand social schemes. They contemplated the establishment of an independent and highly complex communistic society on a large scale, and for that purpose they needed an immense stretch of land far away from the populated centers of the country.

With that object in view they had acquired over 3,000 acres of land in southwestern Iowa as early as 1852, and thither they now removed. They could not very well have made a worse choice.

Iowa was, at that time, a vast desert, and the land selected by the Icarians was in the most secluded part of the State. The settlement lies at a distance of sixty miles from the Missouri River. In 1860 the railroad now passing through the tract had not yet been built; for miles in all directions

the land consisted of trackless virgin prairie, with no trace of a hamlet or any human habitation. The enormous cost of transportation made the sale of their farm products to outsiders almost a matter of impossibility. In addition to that, the land was heavily mortgaged; the mortgage drew ten per cent. interest, and, as the Icarians could not pay the latter, the debt compounded at a fearful rate.

The hardships of the early pioneer days in Iowa proved too much even for a great many of the brave and enduring Icarians; members withdrew by the wholesale, until in 1863 the number of the faithful was reduced to thirty-five, including men, women, and children, and the amount of their debt exceeded \$15,000.

The community seemed to face certain destruction, when the War of the Rebellion broke out. That war brought temporary relief to the little settlement. It enabled them to dispose of their surplus farm products at good prices, and to save up sufficient money to make a settlement with their mortgagees by which the latter accepted \$5,500 in cash and 2,000 acres of land in payment of the mortgage.

The next years of the history of the Iowa Community are marked by the monotonous and perseverant efforts of the settlers to insure their material welfare.

They lived in miserable huts, often lacked the most necessary articles of food and clothing, and worked themselves into a state of stupor, but the bright vision of a great and beautiful Icaria was always before their eyes, lending new vigor to their enfeebled bodies and new enthusiasm to their wearied minds.

And gradually they worked themselves up. To the score of little log houses a common dining-hall and assembly-room was soon added; they purchased more land, built a grist- and sawmill, and raised considerable live stock.

With increasing prosperity the number of their members augmented, and in 1868 it had almost doubled.

The completion of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad gave a new impetus to their industries, and they now entered on an era of moderate prosperity.

The primitive log houses were discarded for more comfortable habitations, and a new central hall, sixty feet wide and two stories high, was erected.

With the return of material comfort, the attention of the community was again turned to the social and esthetic side of life. As in Nauvoo and Cheltenham in the periods of prosperity, theatricals, music, public readings, and, above all, public discussions in the common assembly-room, became a regular feature in the life of our Iowan settlers.

And, as in Nauvoo and Cheltenham, the public discussions eventually led to the formation of factions within the community. The hardships of pioneer life in the wilds of Iowa had naturally made the old generation conservative. Their comparative prosperity had been wrung by them from a hostile surrounding in fierce and obstinate battle; it was the result of untold sacrifices and privation, and they clung to it with the love and tenderness of a fond mother. The lofty ideals which had animated their work in the early stages of their struggles gradually shifted to the background; material welfare, first regarded by them as a mere means for the realization of their sublime social theories, soon became the end, and the utopian dreamers and enthusiasts developed into every-day farmers, with remnants of radical traditions reduced to a bare formula.

In marked contrast to this mental attitude stood the younger members of Icaria. Of these, part had grown up in the community, but the early struggles of their fathers were to them but a pale recollection of their childhood, and others had joined of recent date, and brought with them new ideas and a new atmosphere.

The socialist movement had seen great changes since the "*Voyage en Icarie*." The utopian dreams of the first half of the last century had given way to the modern socialism of

Karl Marx; the International had established a firm bond of solidarity among the socialists of all great countries of Europe, the recent experiences of the Commune of Paris had given ample proof of the outbreak of active class war in Europe, while in America a socialist labor movement was rapidly developing.

Several of the "young party" had been members of the International, and others had fought in 1871 on the barricades of Paris.

It was under the leadership of these men principally that the young "progressive party" was formed in opposition to the "conservative party" of the old Icarians.

The contest between the two parties was at first quite amicable, but gradually it assumed a more serious and threatening character.

The young men demanded a number of reforms in their industrial and agricultural methods, suffrage for women, propaganda among outsiders, wholesale admission of new members, and other radical measures; while the old pioneers were suspicious of all innovations and change in their mode of life.

In September, 1877, the friction had gone so far that the "young party," which was in the minority, demanded a formal separation. The demand was flatly refused by the majority, and the disaffected minority thereupon declared upon their opponents war to the knife.

The conflict grew personal and hot, and neither party was very choice in selecting means to subdue its opponents. The party of the young finally went so far as to apply to the civil courts for a dissolution of the community, and in order to secure proper legal grounds for the application, they, the "progressives," charged the Icarian community, which was incorporated as an agricultural joint-stock association, with having exceeded its powers and having violated the provisions of its charter by its communistic practises.

In August, 1878, the charter of Icaria was declared for-

feited by the Circuit Court, and three trustees were elected to wind up its affairs.

The Icarians never recovered from the effects of that split, altho each of the two parties made vigorous efforts to reestablish the community after its formal dissolution.

The "young party," by arrangement with the trustees and their former adversaries in the community, remained in possession of the old village, and reincorporated under the title, "The Icarian Community." But the community somehow did not prosper, and in 1884 the young Icarians removed to Bluxome Ranch, near Cloverdale, Cal., a horticultural farm which had then recently been purchased by some of their friends. The new settlement received the name Icaria Speranza. It never prospered, and was finally dissolved by decree of the court in 1887.

In the mean while the old party had reorganized under the name, "The New Icarian Community," with Mr. Marchand, a veteran Icarian, as president. They received as their share of the property of the former community the eastern portion of the old domain, \$1,500 in cash, and eight frame cottages, which they removed bodily from the old homestead. They built a new assembly hall and resumed their agricultural work.

With no accessions from the outside and a gradual depletion of their own ranks, caused by the occasional death or withdrawal of a member, they struggled on until 1895, when the community was finally dissolved.

Thus ended the great Icarian movement which half a century before had made its appearance with so much flourish of trumpets, and with the bold promise of regenerating the social and economic system of the world by the mere passive proof of the blessings of brotherly community life.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

THE history of communistic experiments in the United States covers a long period of time and furnishes such an abundance of material for analysis and induction, that it would hardly be proper to close this account without a few general observations.

What strikes us most in these experiments is the varying degree of success attained by the different groups.

The sectarian or religious communities have, beyond doubt, been the most successful in point of the average length of their duration and the degree of their material prosperity. Most of the societies classed as sectarian have existed over half a century, and a few are still in existence with the record of a full century behind them. Some of them, as the Shakers, the Economy, Oneida, and the Amana communities, have amassed fortunes, and all the others live or have lived in comparative comfort and affluence after the brief period of their pioneer days.

The careers of the "non-religious" communities, on the other hand, have as a rule been short-lived and fraught with hardships. The average duration of the communities of the Owenite group was barely more than two years, that of the Fourierist Phalanxes, with the three notable exceptions of the North American Phalanx, the Brook Farm, and the Wisconsin Phalanx, was no longer, and the Icarian Communities were in a constant process of destruction and reorganization. These communities, furthermore, never achieved any degree of material prosperity, and their existence was, with a few exceptions, one of abject poverty.

This glaring disparity in fortune and success of apparently similar enterprises could not fail to evoke numerous com-

ments from the students of community life. Nordhoff and others sought to explain the phenomenon by the fact that the religious societies had strong leaders, and they came to the conclusion that no community could thrive without the guidance of an energetic and intelligent individual who knew how to gain the confidence of all members. Noyes and Greeley, on the other hand, advanced the theory that religion as such was the sustaining power of communities, and indispensable for the success of all communistic experiments.

On a closer examination, however, both theories appear rather superficial and not in harmony with the facts: The Shakers hardly ever had a single leader of recognized universal authority since the days of Ann Lee, and still their prosperity continued unabated for almost a century after the death of the prophetess, while New Harmony was a crying failure notwithstanding the leadership of a man of the intelligence and executive abilities of Robert Owen. Similarly, the Fourierist Phalanxes were very short-lived, altho they were, in a majority of cases, deeply religious; while the avowedly agnostic Icarians managed to maintain their existence during almost two generations.

The real reason for the comparative success of the religious communities is, however, quite obvious.

In the first place, these communities were chiefly composed of German peasants, men skilled in the tillage of the soil and whose wants were more than modest; while the membership of the "non-religious" communities mostly consisted of a heterogeneous crowd of idealists of all possible vocations, accustomed to a higher standard of life, and as a rule devoid of any knowledge of farming. What, then, is more natural than that the former should have made a better success of their "domains," or farms, than the latter?

Furthermore, the religious communities were organized for religious purposes, and not for the propaganda of communism; their communism was but a secondary incident to their existence, and whenever their material interests required,

they sacrificed it, without compunction of conscience. The Shakers, Harmonists, Amanites, Perfectionists, and other religious communities employed hired labor in their fields and shops, and toward the end of their existence they practically ceased to be communities, and became agricultural and manufacturing corporations. Their material success was thus to a large degree due not to their communism, but to their departure from communism. In other words, the sectarian, or religious, communities in the long run discarded communism, and in many instances became profitable business enterprises; while the "non-religious" communities adhered to a communistic *régime* to the last, and almost uniformly had short-lived and unsuccessful careers.

As experiments in practical communism, the American communities must consequently be admitted to have been a total failure. And it would be idle to seek for the particular cause of the failure of each separate community as McDonald and other historians of his type have attempted to do; the cause of failure of all communistic experiments is one—the utopian character of the fundamental idea underlying their existence.

The founders of all communities proceeded on the theory that they could build up a little society of their own, eliminate from it all features of modern civilization which seemed objectionable to them, fashion it wholly after their own views of proper social relations, and isolate themselves from the surrounding world and its corrupting influences.

But the times of the Robinson Crusoes, individual or social, have passed. The industrial development of the last centuries has created a great economic interdependence between man and man, and nation and nation, and has made humanity practically one organic body. In fact, all the marvelous achievements of our present civilization are due to the conscious or unconscious cooperation of the workers in the field and mines, on the railroads and steamships, in the fac-

tories and laboratories the world over; the individual member of society derives his power solely from participation in this great cooperative labor or its results, and no man or group of men can separate himself or themselves from it without relapsing into barbarism.

This indivisibility of the social organism was the rock upon which all communistic experiments foundered. They could not possibly create a society all-sufficient in itself; they were forced into constant dealings with the outside world, and were subjected to the laws of the competitive system both as producers and consumers. Those of them who learned to swim with the stream, like the religious communities, adopted by degrees all features of competitive industry, and prospered, while those who remained true to their utopian ideal perished.

Modern socialists have long given up the idea of mending the present capitalist social and industrial system by isolated patches of communism. They recognize that society is not made up of a number of independent and incoherent groups, but that it is one organic body, and it is in the progress of the whole social organism that they center their hopes and efforts.

Another and perhaps more interesting question to the student of social problems is the influence of community life upon the formation of human character.

The communities of the Owen period were too short-lived to modify the character and habits of their members to any appreciable extent, and so were the Fourierist experiments, with the exception, perhaps, of the North American and Wisconsin Phalanxes and Brook Farm. But the Icarian communities, and, above all, the sectarian or religious communities, have lasted for several generations. And, altho the life and career of the Icarians were much disturbed by internal strife and material adversities, and the sectarian communism was not always pure and unalloyed, the two groups could not fail to produce a type of men and women with

characteristics somewhat different from those of the rest of humanity.

In view of the oft-repeated assertion that competition furnishes the only incentive to inventiveness and industry, it is interesting to note that the communists have, as a rule, been possessed of these qualities in a high degree. Nordhoff, who was by no means a partial observer, remarks in this connection: "No one who visits a communistic society which has been for some time in existence can fail to be struck with the amount of ingenuity, inventive skill, and business talent developed among men from whom, in the outer world, one would not expect such qualities." And again: "Nothing surprised me more than to discover the amount and variety of business and mechanical skill which is found in every commune, no matter what is the character and intelligence of its members."

It is also the unanimous testimony of all observers that the communists were, as a rule, very industrious, altho no compulsion was exercised by the communities. "The pleasure of cooperative labor is a noticeable feature of community life when seen at its best," observes Ely; Hinds, commenting on his personal observations of many communities, concludes that individual holding of property is not essential to industry and the vigorous prosecution of complicated business; and Nordhoff corroborates their testimony in the following passage:

"How do you manage with your lazy people?" I asked in many places; but there are no idlers in a commune. I conclude that men are not naturally idle. Even the "winter Shakers"—the shiftless fellows who, as cold weather approaches, seek refuge in Shaker and other communes, professing a desire to become members; who come at the beginning of winter, as a Shaker elder said to me, "with empty stomachs and empty trunks, and go off with both full as soon as the roses begin to bloom"—even these poor creatures succumb to the systematic and orderly rules of the place,

and do their share of work without shirking, until the mild spring sun tempts them to a freer life."

But while the members of communistic societies are not idle, and do their work steadily and well, they show no signs of the enervating hustling and hurrying which mars the pleasure of work in modern civilization. They take life easy.

"Many hands make light work," say the Shakers, and they add that for their support it is not necessary to make work painful.

The Oneida communists had short hours of work and devoted much time to rest and recreation, and the Amana communists admitted that one hired hand did as much work in one day as a member of the commune would do in two.

The communists, as a rule, also paid strict attention to the rational rules of hygiene, were models of cleanliness, and, almost without exception, temperate in their habits, although the German communists did not disdain the use of good beer and wine, especially in harvest-time.

Contrary to the general impression, life in communistic societies was, on the whole, not monotonous. The communists strove to introduce as much variety in their habits and occupations as possible. The Harmonists, Perfectionists, Icarians, and Shakers each changed their location several times. Of the Oneida Community, Nordhoff says: "They seem to have an almost fanatical horror of forms. Thus they change their avocations frequently; they change the order of their evening meetings and amusements with much care, and have changed even their meal hours." With the Fourierist Phalanxes, variation of employment was one of the main principles, and the same is true of almost all other communities.

They were cheerful and merry in their own quiet way; disease was a rare occurrence among them, and they are not known to have had a single case of insanity or suicide among them.

Under those circumstances it will not be surprising to

learn that the communists were the most long-lived people in the United States.

Among the members of Amana Community there were recently two above ninety years old, and about twenty-five between eighty and ninety. Most of the Harmonists lived to be seventy and over; among Shakers ninety is not an uncommon age; the Zoarites had among them in 1877 one member ninety-five years old, and a woman of ninety-three, both of whom voluntarily continued working, and many members past the age of seventy-five years; and in Oneida many members lived to be over eighty years. Of the founders and leaders of the communities, Rapp reached the age of ninety years; Bäumeler and Noyes, seventy-five years; and Marchant, one of the leading Icarians, is still alive and active at the age of eighty-seven.

The influence of community life seems to have been as beneficial on the moral and mental development of the communists as it was on their physical development. The Amana Community, consisting of seven different villages with a population at times exceeding 2,000, had never a lawyer in its midst; and this community, as well as Bethel, Aurora, Wisconsin Phalanx, Brook Farm, and numerous other communities, declared with pride that they had never had a lawsuit against their communities or among their members.

Their bookkeeping was, as a rule, of a very primitive nature. They did not exact any security from their managing officers, still there were no cases of defalcations or maladministration in office.

"The communists are honest," says Nordhoff; "they like thorough and good work, and value their reputation for honesty and fair dealing. Their neighbors always speak highly of them in this respect."

They were also noted for their hospitality, kind-heartedness, and readiness to help those who applied to them for aid.

And, finally, it must be noted that the communists invari-

ably bestowed much attention upon the education of their children and their own culture. Their schools, as a rule, were superior to those of the towns and villages in the neighborhood; they mostly maintained libraries and reading-rooms, held regular public discussions, and they were more cultured and refined than other men and women of the same station in life.

On the whole, the communistic mode of life thus proved to be more conducive to the physical, moral, and intellectual development of man than the individualistic *régime*.

Part II

THE MODERN MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

IN wading through the history of modern socialism in the United States, we light occasionally on what seems to be a connecting-link between that movement and its earlier utopian phases.

Thus the Icarian communities maintained close relations with the Working Men's League of Weitling in the fifties of the last century; later they took an active part in the works of the International, and their magazines, *La Revue Icarienne* and *La Jeune Icarie*, were listed as official organs of the Socialist Labor Party as late as 1879.

Alcander Longley, who was prominently connected with almost every phase of the utopian movements, reappears in about 1880 as a member of "Section St. Louis" of the Socialist Labor Party, vigorously advocating the principles of that party in his *Communist*. Many Fourierists manifested a sympathetic interest in the development of the later-day socialism, and at least one Brook Farmer, Dr. J. Homer Doucet, of Philadelphia, is still actively connected with the socialist movement.

But these instances must be regarded in the light of exceptions to the general rule, and, on the whole, it is safe to say that the early utopian theories and communistic colonies had but little influence on the formation of the modern socialist movement in the United States.

The two movements are entirely different in nature and origin.

Utopian socialism was built on purely moral conceptions, and derived its inspiration from the teachings of Christ or other codes of ethics; its existence was equally justified in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth, and in this country as on the old continent.

Modern socialism, on the other hand, is primarily economic in character, and can not take root in any country before its social and industrial conditions have made it ripe for the movement.

The present socialist movement depends for its support upon the existence of a large class of working men divorced from the soil and other means of production, and permanently reduced to the ranks of wage labor. It also requires a system of industry developed to a point where it becomes onerous upon the working men, breeds dissatisfaction, and impels them to organized resistance. In other words, the movement presupposes the existence of the modern factory system in a high state of development, and all the social contrasts and economic struggles incidental to such a system.

And these conditions did not exist in the United States during the first half of the last century. America has long held an exceptional position among the nations of the earth. At a time when the countries of Europe had almost exhausted every square foot of ground and all of their natural resources, the western hemisphere had boundless stretches of fertile soil waiting for the first comer to occupy. Agriculture was a comparatively easy and lucrative occupation, and the greater part of the American population consisted of independent farmers, at a time when manufacture and industry were the dominant factors in Europe. The abundance of land, in drawing the greater part of able-bodied men to the fields and pastures, furthermore left the supply of labor for the young industries far below the demand, and kept up an exceptionally high standard of wages.

Wage labor was, under these circumstances, altogether more of a temporary condition than a permanent institution:

as a rule it took the working man but a short time to save up sufficient money to settle on a farm, or to purchase the very simple and inexpensive tools of his trade, and to establish himself in business on his own account.

Nor were the blessings of American life confined to mere economic advantages. The great struggles and triumphs of the Revolutionary War were still fresh in the memory of the nation; the inspiring doctrines of the Declaration of Independence still rang in the ears of the Americans; the "inalienable right" of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was a living truth to them; they were proud of their political sovereignty, of their freedom of conscience, and of their liberty of speech and press. The young republic was prosperous, its future was brilliant; it had no political privileges and hardly any economic classes, and it was but natural that it should have developed an unusual national optimism and complacency which caused it to frown upon any movement based on dissatisfaction with the existing order of things.

But gradually a change was worked in the economic conditions of the country. The unprecedented increase of population diminished the area of public lands from year to year; the more fertile soil was rapidly occupied, and what remained was mostly forest or barren country. Land became an object of commerce and speculation, steadily rising in price and growing more and more inaccessible to the poor, who were, in consequence, compelled to turn from agriculture to industry. The foundation for a permanent class of wage-workers was thus laid.

At the same time, and as part of the same movement, modern industry made its appearance in the United States, and soon assumed marvelous dimensions. The inexhaustible resources of raw material of the country, and the enterprise and ingenuity of its inhabitants, soon conquered for it a front rank among the industrial nations. Commercial cities, factory towns, and mining-camps sprang up in all parts of the

continent; railroad lines and telegraph wires covered it with a veritable network, and from a peaceful and contented agricultural community, the United States turned into a puffing, hustling, and noisy workshop.

The industrial revolution brought in its wake a very radical change in the social relations of men. A new era was introduced in the national life of America—the era of multimillionaires and money-kings, of unprecedented luxury and splendor, but also the era of abject poverty and dire distress.

Overt struggles between capital and labor, in the shape of strikes, lockouts, and boycotts, became more and more frequent, and were oftentimes attended by acts of violence.

At the same time, the flow of working men to the industrial centers caused a congestion of population in some cases comparable only to that of China; slums and tenement-houses became as much a feature of our principal cities as their magnificent avenues and mansions.

In short, the United States, so recently the ideal republic of equal and independent citizens, became the theater of the most embittered class wars and most glaring social contrasts ever witnessed in modern times.

And all these astounding social and economic changes were accomplished with incredible rapidity. In 1850 the population of the United States was but little over 23,000,000; half a century later it rose to over 75,000,000. In 1850 the wealth of the country amounted to little over \$7,000,000,000, and was pretty evenly distributed among the population; in 1890 the "national wealth" exceeded \$65,000,000,000, and more than one-half of it was concentrated in the hands of but 40,000 families, or one-third of one per cent. of the population. In 1850 fifty-five per cent. of the wealth of the United States consisted of farms; in 1890 the farms made up less than twenty-four per cent. of the wealth of the country. In 1860 the entire capital invested in industries in the United States was little over \$1,000,000,-

000; in the space of the following thirty years it had increased more than sixfold.

In 1870 the supply of labor was too inadequate for the demand; three decades later there was a standing army of over 1,000,000 idle working men. In 1870 strikes and lockouts were hardly known in America; between 1881 and 1894 the country witnessed over 14,000 contests between capital and labor, in which about 4,000,000 of working men participated.

The process of development sketched in the preceding pages thus prepared the ground for the socialist movement of the modern type, but a variety of circumstances rooted in the economic and political conditions and historical features peculiar to this country operated to retard the progress of the movement.

In the first place, the American working men still enjoyed some actual advantages over their brethren on the other side of the ocean. The marvelous variety of industries and the constant opening of new fields of enterprise made the United States a comparatively favorable market for labor, and, notwithstanding the temporary industrial depressions, the wages of American working men were, on the whole, better, and their standard of life higher, than those of the European wage-workers. In the next place, there was a great difference between the disposition and mental attitude of the working classes of America and Europe, which is to be accounted for by the difference of their origin and history.

European industry was developed from the small manufacture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the master of the workshop of old grew into the capitalist of to-day, and the apprentice and helper into the modern wage-worker. The process was a slow and gradual one, and both classes had ample time to crystallize. The European working men had several generations behind them; they had their class traditions and sentiments; they were "class conscious."

Not so with the American working men. Their existence

as a class was of too recent date to have developed decided class feelings in them; they had yet before them the example of too many men who before their very eyes rose from the ranks of labor to the highest pinnacles of wealth and power; they were still inclined to consider wage labor as a mere transitory condition.

Another check on the progress of the socialist movement in the United States is to be found in the political institutions of the country: the working classes of the European countries were, as a rule, deprived of some political rights enjoyed by other classes of citizens, and the common struggle for the acquisition of those rights was frequently the first cause to draw them together into a distinct political union. *Universal Suffrage* was the battle-cry of the German working men when they gathered around Lassalle in the early sixties, and founded the nucleus of the now powerful Social Democratic Party: "The repeal of all laws curtailing individual liberty, freedom of the press, education, coalition, and association," was one of the first demands of the French socialists upon the revival of the movement a short time after the fall of the Commune; and similarly the first struggles of the Austrian and Italian socialists were for universal suffrage, for freedom of meeting and association, and for the right of coalition of the working class.

In the United States, however, the working men enjoyed full political equality at all times, and thus had one less motive to organize politically on a class basis.

Furthermore, the periodical appearance of radical reform parties on the political arena of the country often had the effect of side-tracking the incipient socialist movement into different channels.

All these and many more obstacles of minor import contributed to make the progress of socialism in this country a much slower and more laborious process than in most countries of Europe.

The first beginnings of modern socialism appeared on this

continent before the close of the first half of the last century, but it took another half a century before the movement could be said to have become acclimatized on American soil.

The history of this period of the socialist movement in the United States may, for the sake of convenience, altho somewhat arbitrarily, be divided into the following four periods:

1. THE ANTE-BELLUM PERIOD, from about 1848 to the beginning of the civil war. The movement of that period was confined almost exclusively to German immigrants, principally of the working class. It was quite insignificant in breadth as well as in depth, and was almost entirely swept away by the excitement of the civil war.

2. THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION, covering the decade between 1867 and 1877, and marked by a succession of socialist societies and parties, first on a local then on a national scale, culminating finally in the formation of the Socialist Labor Party.

3. THE PERIOD OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, extending over twenty years, and marked by a series of internal and external struggles over the question of the policy and tactics of the movement.

4. PRESENT-DAY SOCIALISM, which embraces the period of the last few years, and is marked by the acclimatization of the movement and the advent of the SOCIALIST PARTY.

CHAPTER I

Ante-Bellum Period

I.—THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT

IN the early part of the last century the thirty odd countries composing the German fatherland had apparently little attraction for their sons. The political decimation and economic backwardness of the country caused a flow of emigration which only diminished after the formation of the Empire. It is estimated on insufficient data that over 3,000,000 Germans left their fatherland during the first half of the nineteenth century. The bulk of this emigration was made up of journeymen and mechanics, but a considerable portion of it consisted of men of culture and education, with which Germany has always been overstocked; and finally the ill-fated revolutions of 1830 and 1848 added a new and numerous element to it, that of the political refugees.

The German emigrants formed large settlements in France, England, Switzerland, and Belgium, and many of them ultimately landed on the shores of this country. Around 1830 the German population was well represented in almost every State and Territory of the Union, and was especially numerous in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Maryland.

The radicalism of these emigrants in Europe, as well as in America, fostered by the political and economic conditions of their fatherland, found additional support in the theories of the French utopian socialism, and soon resulted in a widespread movement among them. They formed secret revolutionary societies and organized working-men's educational clubs for the discussion of social problems, and many of the "intellectuals" among them took an active and leading part in the movement, notably Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and the distinguished coterie of their friends and cooperators.

It was thus that the Communistic Club originated, at whose request Marx and Engels drew up the famous "Communist Manifesto." The "Manifesto" contains the first complete exposition of Marxian or Scientific Socialism, and contemporary socialism may be said to date from the time of the publication of that document, February, 1848, altho the movement was for a long time thereafter almost wholly confined to the *élite* of the German emigration.

The general movement among the German emigrants could not fail to find some echo in the United States. The society "Germania" was founded in the city of New York in the early thirties for the avowed purpose of gathering the political refugees and holding them in readiness to return to the fatherland as soon as the next political revolution would break out.*

When the Free-Soil Party appeared on the arena of American politics, the German working men were among the first to respond; they organized numerous Free-Soil clubs, and in 1846 they published a weekly magazine, called *The Tribune of the People* (*Volkstribun*), in the interests of that party.

Many thousands of the German immigrants were, besides, organized into debating societies, cooperative associations, gymnastic unions, and trade organizations of a somewhat rudimentary character. But the movement was rather disjointed, and did not attain any appreciable power and influence until the arrival of the famous German communist, Wilhelm Weitling.

II.—WILHELM WEITLING AND THE GENERAL WORKING-MEN'S LEAGUE

WILHELM WEITLING was born in Magdeburg in 1808 as the illegitimate child of a woman in humble circumstances.

As a youth he learned the tailoring trade, and, according

* "In der Neuen Heimath von Anton Eickhoff," New York, 1884.

to the custom of the German journeymen of his day, he traveled extensively during the period of his apprenticeship.

The young man combined extraordinary mental gifts with a veritable thirst of knowledge, and during his travels he managed to master the French language and to fill many gaps in his neglected education.

He became an enthusiastic apostle of communism very early in life, and devoted himself entirely to the work of organization and propaganda among the German working men sojourning abroad. He organized a number of cooperative restaurants for journeymen tailors in Paris and Switzerland, and a communistic working-men's educational society in London. He took an active part in various secret revolutionary societies which were then in vogue in Paris, and in 1846 he joined the German Working-Men's Society at Brussels, of which the youthful Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the leaders.

Weitling's first literary production to attract wide attention was a book printed by the secret revolutionary press in Paris in 1838. It was entitled, "The World as It Is, and as It Should Be," and contained the first exposition of the author's communistic theories.

His best-known work, "The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom," was published four years later, and met with a decided and spontaneous success. It was widely read and commented on, and was translated into French and English.

These two books, together with the "Evangel of a Poor Sinner," published in 1846, compose his principal works.

In his social philosophy Weitling may be said to have been the connecting-link between primitive and modern socialism. In the main he is still a utopian, and his writings betray the unmistakable influence of the early French socialists. In common with all utopians, he bases his philosophy exclusively on moral grounds. Misery and poverty are to him but the results of human malice, and his cry is for "eternal

justice" and for the "absolute liberty and equality of all mankind." In his criticism of the existing order, he leans closely on Fourier, from whom he also borrowed the division of labor into the three classes of the Necessary, Useful, and Attractive, and the plan of organization of "attractive industry."

His ideal of the future state of society reminds of the St. Simonian government of scientists. The administration of affairs of the entire globe is to be in the hands of the three greatest authorities on "philosophical medicine," physics, and mechanics, who are to be reinforced by a number of subordinate committees. His state of the future is a highly centralized government, and is described by the author with the customary details. Where Weitling to some extent approaches the conception of modern socialism, is in his recognition of class distinctions between employer and employee. This distinction never amounted to a conscious indorsement of the modern socialist doctrine of the "class struggle," but his views on the antagonism between the "poor" and the "wealthy" came quite close to it. He was a firm believer in labor organizations as a factor in developing the administrative abilities of the working class; the creation of an independent political labor party was one of his pet schemes, and his appeals were principally addressed to the working men.

Unlike most of his predecessors and contemporaries, Weitling was not a mere critic; he was an enthusiastic preacher, an apostle of a new faith, and his writings and speeches breathed of love for his fellow men and of an ardent desire for their happiness.

Weitling's magnetic personality and affable manners won the hearts of his fellow workers for him, and the persistent persecutions of the Swiss and German governments against him still augmented his popularity.

In the forties of the last century he was, beyond doubt, the most influential figure in the numerous colonies of Ger-

man working men in Switzerland, France, Belgium, and England.

Weitling's first visit to the United States was undertaken toward the end of 1846 upon the invitation of a group of German Free Soilers to take editorial charge of the *Volks-tribun*, already alluded to. But, upon his arrival, he found that the magazine had suspended publication, and when, one year later, the rumor of the approaching revolution in his fatherland reached the shores of this country, he hurriedly returned to Germany. The "glorious revolution of 1848" was nipped in the bud in very short order, and Weitling, disappointed but not discouraged, came back to the United States in 1849. Here he found a wide and fruitful field of activity.

As already mentioned, the German immigrants had at that time formed a number of labor organizations of different kinds, but there was little organic connection and still less unity of aim and purpose among these organizations, and Weitling immediately undertook the task of centralizing the movement and directing it into definite channels. For this purpose he published *The Republic of the Working Men* (*Die Republik der Arbeiter*), a magazine which appeared monthly during the year 1850, and was converted into a weekly in April, 1851.

Under Weitling's influence also a "Central Committee of United Trades" was formed in New York in 1850. This was a delegated body of labor organizations, representing from 2,000 to 2,500 members. Similar bodies were organized in other cities of the Union, and a lively agitation soon sprang up among the German working men, especially in the East.

Mass-meetings were held, leaflets distributed, and numerous clubs organized. The movement attracted the attention of the American press, and was made the subject of much favorable and unfavorable criticism, with the result that it soon spread beyond the bounds of the purely German labor

organizations, and enlisted the sympathies and cooperation of working men of other nationalities, including native Americans.

Every issue of the *Republik* of that period contains glowing reports of progress. In March, 1850, a mass-meeting of negroes in New York declared itself in accord with Weitling's ideas of a "labor-exchange bank," and a similar stand was taken in April of the same year by a convention of American working men in Philadelphia. On May 10th the *Republik* published a letter from Cabet, in which the famous French utopian expressed himself in favor of a harmonious cooperation between the Icarian colony at Nauvoo and Weitling's movement, and the same issue of the paper contained the news that a number of American farmers at Weedport, N. J., had organized under the name of "Farmers' and Mechanics' Protective Association," for the purpose of establishing a labor-exchange bank on Weitling's plan. On the twenty-first day of September a call for a general working-men's convention, a subject long agitated by Weitling, was published in the *Republik*, and the convention was actually held in Philadelphia in October, 1850.

This was the first national convention of German working men on American soil, and is of great interest to the students of the labor movement, and especially of the socialist movement, in this country. The convention was opened on October 22d, and completed its labors on October 28th.

The basis of representation was one delegate for every one hundred organized members, and the number of members represented was 4,400. These were distributed among forty-two organizations in the following ten cities: St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Williamsburg, Newark, and Cincinnati.

The subjects discussed at the convention were:

1. Labor-Exchange Banks.
2. Associations.
3. Political Party Organization.

4. Education and Instruction.
5. Propaganda.
6. Colonies.
7. Conventions.

And the views of the convention on these subjects were set forth in resolutions published in the *Republik* and other newspapers.

The "Exchange Bank" of Weitling was, in the main, identical with Owen's "Equitable Bank of Labor Exchange." It was to be an institution where every producer of a useful commodity could deposit his product and receive in exchange a paper certificate of an equivalent value, with which in turn he could purchase any article contained in the bank store at cost. The difference between Owen's plan and that of Weitling was that the latter insisted upon cooperative industries as an indispensable complement to the bank.

The Exchange Bank was Weitling's pet idea; through its operations he hoped to gradually displace the capitalist mode of production, and he never tired extolling the beauties of his theory.

The convention adopted his views on the subject without modification, and prescribed minutely the mode of administration and practical workings of the institution.

The political views of the convention were summed up in the motto, "Equal Rights and Duties," and the platform consisted of twelve demands, almost all of them borrowed from the platform of the Free-Soil Party.

The delegates also provided for a central political committee of seven in each city, who were to act in conjunction with each other in cases of state and national elections, and they also adopted resolutions in favor of an extension of educational facilities and the organization of communistic settlements.

The convention appointed the "Exchange Commission" of New York as the temporary executive organ of the movement, and provided for the time and manner of holding the

next convention. But, singularly enough, the delegates failed to designate an official name for the combination of organizations represented at the convention, and the body was for some time thereafter vaguely referred to as "the movement," "the association," "the union of cities," until the name "General Working-Men's League" (*Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund*) was settled upon it by common consent.

The period immediately following the Philadelphia convention marked the zenith of power and influence in Weitling's public career, and was followed by a period of rapid decline. His Exchange Banks never materialized. Altho some money was occasionally subscribed for the enterprise and some shares issued for it, the amount realized was altogether insufficient for even a very modest experiment, and Weitling reluctantly abandoned his favorite dream.

His followers made one attempt to realize his colonization scheme by founding the settlement "Communia" in Iowa in 1849, but the attempt proved a disastrous failure and involved its originators in financial losses and unpleasant litigations over the title to its land.

In the mean while Weitling's methods and his self-asserting conduct provoked the antagonism of many prominent members of the League, and after a brief but intense quarrel, Weitling, irritated and disgusted, withdrew from public life.

The remainder of his years he passed as a clerk in the Bureau of Immigration in New York. Toward the close of his life his notions of the value of his own achievements became morbidly exaggerated. He wrote a book on astronomy which, he asserted, contained discoveries by far excelling those of Newton, and he also claimed to have invented many valuable devices in sewing-machines, all of which were stolen from him by men who made immense profits out of them.

His attitude of listlessness toward the succeeding phases of the labor movement was broken but once, when he appeared at a joint meeting of the New York Sections of the

International on January 22, 1871. Three days later he died.

The General Working-Men's League continued in existence for some years after Weitling's withdrawal, but it never attained the significance of which its bright beginnings gave promise.

In 1853 a call for a second convention of trade organizations to be held in New York was issued, but the only trade represented in the convention was that of the typesetters.

Some new life was infused into the movement around the middle of the fifties by the activity of Joseph Weydemeyer. Weydemeyer was a personal friend of Marx and Engels and well versed in the theories of scientific socialism. He came to New York at about the same time as Weitling. In the spring of 1852 he published a monthly magazine entitled *The Revolution*, in the second and last issue of which Marx's famous historical essay, "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," was printed for the first time. Weydemeyer strove to inoculate the doctrines of Marxian socialism in the Working-Men's League, and delivered many lectures on the subject in German and English before the members.

Toward 1856 Weydemeyer settled in Chicago, and remained there until the outbreak of the civil war.

In 1858 the League established a new weekly magazine under the title *Social Republic*, and elected as editor of the magazine the well-known German revolutionist, Gustav Srue, a romantic phrasemonger and confused mind, under whose influence the League soon succumbed. To characterize the spirit and mental caliber of the League at that time, we quote the following resolutions on the obligations of its candidates for political office: *

* For these quotations and many other details of the movement of that period the author is indebted to Sorge's excellent articles on the Labor Movement in the United States. F. A. Sorge, "Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten," 1850-1860. *Neue Zeit*, No. 31, 1890-1891.

For other details of Weitling's career in the United States the

"*Resolved*, That the following questions be asked of each candidate for office in the presence of the executive or ward officers:

"1. Are you prepared, on life and death, to break the chains which tie labor to capital, and generally to defend the rights of the poor to the best of your abilities?

"2. Are you prepared, on life and death, to maintain the absolute rights of labor before the law and to combat every injustice to immigrants through nativistic tendencies, etc.?"

Here follows a long string of similar questions, culminating in the following emphatic declaration:

"*Resolved*, That any candidate who may break his vows by acting contrary to the above principles be delivered to the judgment of the people."

The *Social Republic* suspended publication in 1860, and the General Working-Men's League was heard of no more.

III.—GYMNASTIC UNIONS

OF some significance in the spread of socialist teachings during the fifties were also the German Gymnastic Unions (*Turnvereine*).

At that time the importance of physical culture by means of regular gymnastic exercises for the development of the entire human organism had just commenced to be appreciated. In Prussia gymnastics had been recognized as a part of the regular school exercises by a cabinet order of June, 1842. Other countries followed the example, and, as is apt to happen with every new and inexpensive sport, things were at first somewhat overdone. Gymnastics became the fashion, especially among the poorer classes, and working-men's gymnastic societies cropped up in all parts of Germany and in many other European countries.

student is referred to the files of the *Republik der Arbeit*, and for Weitling's biography to Emil Kaler's booklet, "Wilhelm Weitling. Seine Agitation und Lehren," Gottingen-Zurich, 1887.

In the United States most of these societies set apart some of their meetings for the discussion of social and political problems, an exercise which they styled "mental gymnastics." The early Turners were, as a rule, very radical in their political views. In 1850, the year of Weitling's convention in Philadelphia, they held a convention in the same city. The convention was attended by delegates from seventeen different locals and a National Union was formed under the name "United Gymnastic Unions of North America" (*Vereinigte Turnvereine Nordamerica's*). In 1851 the name of the organization was changed to "Socialistic Gymnastic Union" (*Socialistischer Turnerbund*).

The Turners affiliated politically with the Free-Soil Party, but declared it to be their aim to establish a Socialist Party in the United States. Professor Ely, in his work on the American Labor Movement, already cited, and after him Sartorius von Waltershausen, the German historian of the socialist movement in the United States, ascribe considerable importance to the part played by the gymnastic unions in the early stages of modern socialism in this country, but F. A. Sorge, who has had the advantage of personal observations and recollections, disagrees with them on that point. At any rate, it does not appear that the gymnastic unions had any direct influence on the labor movement before the civil war, and after the war the Turners modified their political and social creed very considerably in the direction of conservatism, and changed the name of their national organization to North American Gymnastic Union, altho some individual locals still retain the word "Socialistic" as part of their name, and are still in sympathy with the socialist movement.

IV.—THE COMMUNIST CLUB

THE next organization of pronounced socialist tendencies to make its appearance in the United States was the Communist Club, organized in New York in 1857. But little is

known of the history of that club. Its membership seems to have been composed principally of men of the middle class who had received a good education in Germany. Their communism was based on philosophic rather than economic grounds, and their aim and views were set forth in a printed copy of their constitution, dated in October, 1857,* in the following language:

"The members of the Communist Club reject every religious belief, no matter in what guise it may appear, as well as all views not based upon the direct testimony of the senses. They recognize the perfect equality of all men, regardless of color and sex, and therefore they strive above all to abolish private property, inherited or accumulated, to inaugurate in its place the participation of all in the material and intellectual enjoyments of the earth. They pledge themselves with their signatures to carry out their aims in the present state of society as far as possible, and to support each other morally and materially."

Their constitution also provided for the formation of branches of the club, but none appear to have been organized.

The only time the club attracted considerable attention was when it arranged a well-attended mass-meeting in 1858, in commemoration of the Paris insurrection of 1848.

V.—GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN THE CIVIL WAR

THE German socialists of the early period were, of course, in full accord with the abolition movement, and the abolition of chattel slavery was always one of their political demands. But as the impending contest drew nearer, the issue assumed greater practical importance for them, and when the war was finally declared it absorbed their attention to the exclusion of all other political interests.

* "Statuten des Kommunisten-Klubs in New York," New York, October, 1857.

Each of the various groups of socialist organizations then in existence furnished its full quota of soldiers for the Union army. "The Turners from every quarter," relates Professor Ely, "responded to Lincoln's call for troops, some of the unions sending more than half of their members. In New York they organized a complete regiment in a few days, and in many places they sent one or more companies. There were three companies in the First Missouri Regiment, while the Seventeenth consisted almost altogether of Turners. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent. of all Turners capable of bearing arms took part in the war."

The proportion of soldiers furnished by other socialist organizations probably fell below the above figures, but was nevertheless quite considerable, and embraced some of the most energetic leaders of the young socialist movement. Joseph Weydemeyer served during the war on the Union side with great distinction, and was appointed to a post of responsibility in the municipal administration of St. Louis immediately after the termination of the war.

August Willich, who in 1848 was a member of the London Communist League, together with Marx and Engels, and who had come to the United States in 1853, enlisted in the army immediately upon the outbreak of the war, and having been rapidly advanced to the ranks of lieutenant and colonel, he was commissioned brigadier-general in 1862.

Robert Rosa, an ex-officer of the Prussian army and a member of the New York Communistic Club, served in the Forty-fifth New York Regiment, and achieved the rank of major. He died in 1901.

Fritz Jacobi, one of the brightest and most promising young members of the Communistic Club, enlisted in the Union army as a private. He was advanced to the rank of lieutenant, and fell in the battle of Fredericksburg.

Dr. Beust, Alois Tillbach, and many more socialists of less prominence were to be found in the ranks of the German

volunteers.* In fact, the war had thinned the ranks of the incipient socialist organizations to such an extent as to paralyze their activity, and it was not before 1867 that the movement commenced to recover.

*For the greater part of this information the author is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. F. A. Sorge.

CHAPTER II

Period of Organization

I.—THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION

THE history of the socialist movement in the United States during the period immediately following the end of the civil war is closely linked with the career of the European International Working-Men's Association, and some acquaintance with the nature and history of that association will prove a valuable aid for the proper understanding of that period of the movement.

The International Working-Men's Association, popularly known as the International, was formally organized at St. Martin's Hall, in London, on the twenty-eighth day of September, 1864. Neither time nor place could have been chosen better for the launching of a movement which stands unparalleled in the eventful history of the nineteenth century for the boldness of its conceptions, the loftiness of its ideals, and the grandeur of its proportions.

The beginning of the sixties witnessed a most remarkable industrial, social, and political upheaval in all civilized countries of both hemispheres.

The advent of steam power and railroads had rapidly revolutionized the former slow methods of production and transportation in Europe as well as in America. Home industries and small manufacture were supplanted by gigantic factories and a system of mass production. New machines were invented, new industries created, new markets discovered, and new relations established. A fresh breeze wafted through the old countries and imbued them with new energy and vigor.

The industrial progress was followed by a general political awakening and a renewal of the working-class movement.

In Germany the political indifference and reaction following the defeat of the revolution of 1848 gave way to a lively agitation for a unified fatherland, and the working men, inspired by their fearless and eloquent champion, Ferdinand Lassalle, opened a spirited campaign for universal suffrage and the rights of labor. In Italy, the population, under the leadership of Garibaldi and Mazzini, was engaged in desperate struggle against Austrian, French, and papal subjugation, and the cry of "united republic" often drowned the demand of an "independent kingdom."

In the United States the antislavery agitation had reached its climax in the outbreak of the war; and the unfortunate Poles were winning the sympathies and admiration of Europe by gallant feats in their courageous but hopeless struggle against the autocrat of all Russias.

In England and France the trade-union movement was rapidly developing, and had gained some substantial victories in numerous skirmishes with capital.

The whole continent of Europe was in a state of political and social unrest, and London teemed with political refugees of all nations. Almost every revolutionary movement of that time was represented in the capital of England by a more or less numerous group of men, and these refugees had frequent and friendly intercourse with each other.

On the occasion of the world's exhibition of 1862, several French working men, elected by their fellow workers with the special permission of Napoleon III., were sent to London at the expense of their Government. They were cordially received by their English brethren, and a "Festival of International Brotherhood" was arranged, at which the working men of various nationalities exchanged views and expressed the desire of seeing a lasting union established between the laborers of Europe. About one year later, on July 22, 1863, the London working men arranged a public demonstration in favor of the Polish revolutionists, and several delegates of

the organized French working men attended the meeting. The idea of an international union of working men was again broached.

This time the subject elicited more interest, and the organizers of the meeting decided to undertake immediate steps for the practical inauguration of the movement.

An address to the French working men was accordingly prepared by a committee, of which the shoemaker Odger was the leading spirit. The address was couched in strong and eloquent language, and laid special stress on the evil of international competition in the labor market. "Whenever working men of one country are sufficiently well organized to demand higher wages or shorter hours, they are met by the threat of the employer to hire cheaper foreign labor," argued the authors, "and this evil can only be removed by the international organization of the working class."

The address had a decidedly strong effect, and the French working men immediately elected a deputation to convey their answer to London.

It was for the purpose of receiving that deputation that the meeting at St. Martin's Hall, already alluded to, was called.

Professor Beesly, who took a very active part in the early phases of the activity of the International, presided, and Henri L. Tolain, who headed the French deputation, read his countrymen's answer to the London address. The answer was in effect an unqualified indorsement of the stand taken by the Englishmen.

After some lively discussions, the meeting elected a committee with instructions to prepare a platform and constitution of an international working-men's association, to be in force provisionally until the next convention of the association.

The committee, subsequently reinforced, consisted of fifty members, and was composed of the following nationalities: twenty-one were Englishmen, ten were Germans, France

was represented by nine members, Italy by six, Poland by two, and Switzerland by two.

The subcommittee appointed to present a constitution and declaration of principles submitted two drafts: one prepared by the famous Italian patriot Mazzini, and the other by the father of modern socialism, Karl Marx. The latter was unanimously accepted.

This provided for the continuation of the various national labor organizations affiliated with the International in their original form, and created a General Council for the administration of the international affairs of the association. The council was to be composed of delegates from the various nationalities represented in the International, and its functions were: to serve as a medium between the working men of different countries, to arbitrate all international disputes between labor organizations, to keep the members informed on the progress of the labor movement in all countries, to compile and publish international labor statistics and other useful information, etc.

The International, in the forceful language of Frederick Engels, was to be "an association of working men embracing the most progressive countries of Europe and America, and concretely demonstrating the international character of the socialist movement to the working men themselves as well as to the capitalists and governments—to the solace and encouragement of the working class, and to the fear of its enemies."

The platform or declaration of principles is a brief exposition of the fundamental thesis of modern socialism; it was never modified by the International, and has been adopted by several socialist parties as their national platform.

We reproduce it here verbatim:

"In consideration that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of class rule;

“That the economic dependence of the working man upon the owner of the tools of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence;

“That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

“That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

“That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the most advanced countries;

“That the present awakening of the working class in the industrial countries of Europe gives occasion for a new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united;

“The First International Labor Congress declares that the International Working-Men’s Association, and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right, and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality. This Congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights.”

The active career of the International embraced a period of about eight years, from 1864 to 1872, and the zenith of its power and influence was reached toward the end of the sixties.

The organization of the International was rather loose, and it is barely possible to estimate the number of its adherents at any time with any degree of accuracy. But it was certainly the most extensive and influential labor organization of its time. It had numerous branches in France, England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Poland, as well as in Australia and in the United States of America.

The European press, which had started by treating the existence of the International as a joke, soon took alarm at the growth of the organization, and inaugurated a crusade against this "great European menace to organized society." In the eyes of the frightened *bourgeoisie* the International became a widely ramified secret society, with boundless resources at its command, busily engaged in a conspiracy to inaugurate an immediate political revolution in all countries of Europe. The most adventurous and fantastic accounts of the powers and doings of the International were published and circulated, and almost every great labor struggle and every political and social event of the time were laid at its door.

But the International never was a conspiratory society, and its influence on European politics and on the international labor movement was purely moral. Its main significance consisted in establishing closer and more harmonious relations between the working men of different countries and in the deliberations of its conventions. These conventions, in which the labor organizations of the principal European countries were often represented by their ablest thinkers and most influential leaders, were six in number, and they were held at the following places and dates:

Geneva,	September 3 to 9, 1866.
Lausanne,	" 2 " 8, 1867.
Brussels,	" 6 " 13, 1868.
Basle,	" 5 " 11, 1869.
Hague,	" 2 " 7, 1872.
Geneva,	" 8 " 13, 1873.

The number of delegates at the conventions of the International ranged from sixty to one hundred, and the subjects which occupied their attention included: Strikes, Reduction of Hours of Labor, Minimum Rate of Wages, Woman and Child Labor, Cooperative Industries, Trade-Unions, Direct Taxation, Standing Armies, Freedom of the Press, the Unemployed, Machines and their Effect, Division of Labor, the Functions of the State, Public Service, Means of Transportation and Communication, the Right to Punish, Attitude of the Working Class toward War, Ownership in Land, Grievances of Working Men, Right of Inheritance, Mutual Aid and Credit of Working Men, Political Action of the Working Class, and many other questions of interest to the labor movement. The discussions at the conventions were, as a rule, thorough and instructive, and the resolutions on the subjects passed by the International are a most valuable contribution to the history of the development of modern socialist thought.

Karl Marx was the leading spirit of the International from the start, and his policy and views maintained undisputed sway in the organization until about the Basle convention of 1869, when an opposition to Marx and Marxism was manifested for the first time, the opposition being led by the famous apostle of revolutionary anarchism—Michael Bakounin.

Bakounin was one of the most peculiar characters produced by the stormy political atmosphere of the middle of the nineteenth century; he seems to have been as energetic, eloquent, and daring as he was ambitious, inconsistent, and changeable; and even now, more than a quarter of a century after his death, the most conflicting accounts of his character and motives are current. The scion of a highly aristocratic Russian house, he devoted himself to the study of German philosophy early in life. He was identified with every revolutionary movement in France, Germany, Austria, and Russia before 1848, and was placed in charge of the defense of

Dresden upon the occasion of the Saxon revolt in 1849. Captured and condemned to death, he was saved by the successive demands of Austria and Russia for his extradition on the ground of their prior rights of execution. He was extradited to Russia and banished to Siberia, whence he made his escape, arriving in London in 1860. His restless activity was from now on divided between the agitation of Panslavism and a peculiar brand of revolutionary anarchistic communism. In 1868 he founded the "*Alliance Internationale de la Democratic Socialiste*," a society partly open, partly secret, with a highly centralized organization, having for its aim the destruction of all present forms of government and industry, and the introduction of a social system founded on autonomous cooperative agricultural and industrial associations. In 1868 the Alliance made application for admission into the International as a body, but the application was rejected by the General Council on the ground that the views of the Alliance were not in harmony with those of the International. An intense and bitter feud between the two organizations was now waged until the Hague convention of the International in 1872, when Bakounin was expelled from the latter organization, as a result of which the Spanish, Belgian, and Jurassian federations seceded from the International and joined the Alliance. At the same time the Hague convention decided to transfer the seat of the General Council from London to New York.

The removal of the chief executive organ of the International far away from the center of the labor movement practically amounted to a suspension of the existence of the association, and such keen tacticians as Marx and the other advocates of the measure could certainly not have failed to perceive it. The step was taken deliberately.

At this stage of its career the International had practically outlived the period of its usefulness; its principal aim had been to educate the working class of different nationalities to a uniformity of thought and action, and that object was

substantially accomplished. To continue the formal organization of the International had become impracticable in view of the growing dimensions of the national labor movements, and dangerous in view of the designs on it on the part of Bakounin and his adherents.

II.—THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE “NATIONAL LABOR-UNION”

THE influence of the International on the labor movement in the United States was exercised through two distinct channels: the outspoken socialists, principally of foreign birth, affiliated with the association directly by means of branch organizations established in various places of the country, and the indigenous American labor movement was reached by its agitation principally through the medium of the National Labor-Union.

We shall describe the latter first.

Immediately upon the close of the civil war a strong trade-union movement developed in the United States. New local and national organizations sprang up in almost every trade, but there was as yet no common bond between these organizations.

The subject of consolidating the forces of organized labor in the United States was frequently discussed among the leaders of the movement, and the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union at its annual convention of 1863 finally took the initiative by appointing a committee "to request the appointment of similar committees from other national and international trade-unions, to meet them fully empowered to form a national trades' assembly." The matter was, however, not acted upon by the other trade-unions until March, 1866, when a preliminary conference of a number of men prominent in the movement was held in New York for the purpose of considering the proposition anew. The conference issued a call for a convention to be held in Baltimore in

August of the same year, and the convention met accordingly. It was an earnest and enthusiastic gathering of working men, over sixty organizations being represented by delegates. Committees were appointed to submit resolutions on the various topics discussed at the convention, and the debates on the proposed resolutions were at times very stormy.

Of great interest in connection with these debates is the appearance on the floor of the convention of a German socialist of the Lassallean school, Edward Schlegel by name. Schlegel represented the German Working Men's Association of Chicago, and was the first to broach the subject of the formation of an independent political labor party. His address on the subject was eloquent and persuasive. "A new party of the people must be in the minority when it first comes into action," he said among other things, "but what of that? Time and perseverance will give us victory; and if we are not willing to sacrifice time and employ perseverance, we are not deserving of victory. A new party must be formed, composed of the element of American labor. We are shy of fighting the old political parties, but should not be. If we are right, let us go ahead. The Free-Soil Party originated with a few thousand votes; but if it had not been formed, Lincoln would never have been President of the United States. . . . A political question is one that is decided at the ballot-box, and *here* must this question be met." Altho no immediate steps looking toward the formation of a political labor party were taken by the convention, the impassioned appeals of Schlegel made a deep impression on the delegates, who elected him vice-president at large in attestation of their "appreciation of his views and abilities."

The first convention of the International at Geneva took place within less than two weeks from the convention of the National Labor-Union above described, and the topics discussed and results arrived at by the two conventions are so similar in many respects as to give rise to the belief that both were acting upon a common and preconcerted plan.

Both conventions discussed the subjects of trade-unions, strikes, woman and child labor, and cooperative industries, and the stand of the National Labor-Union on the questions, altho less analytical and scientific than that of the International, was substantially in accord with it. Still more striking is the resemblance between the attitude of both bodies on the question of the reduction of the hours of labor. The resolution adopted by the National Labor-Union on that subject read as follows:

“Resolved, That the first and grand desideratum of the hour, in order to deliver the labor of the country from the thralldom of capital, is the enactment of a law whereby eight hours shall be made to constitute a legal day’s work in every State of the American Union. We are firmly determined to use every power at our command for the achievement of this glorious aim.”

The resolution of the International on the same subject was:

“The legal reduction of the hours of labor is a prerequisite without which all attempts to improve the condition of the working class and to ultimately emancipate it will fail. It is just as necessary to restore the health, physical strength, and energy of the working class—the great majority of every nation—as it is to secure to it the possibility to develop intellectually and to act socially and politically. The convention, therefore, proposes that eight hours be made to constitute a legal day’s work. The shortening of the work-day is now being generally demanded by the working men of America; we demand it for the working men of the entire world.”

But the similarity of the proceedings of the two conventions is only to be accounted for by the similarity of the conditions of the working men on both sides of the Atlantic, otherwise there was at that time no connection between the two bodies.

The first allusion to the existence of the International

was made at the second convention of the National Labor Union held in Chicago in August, 1867. The convention was much better attended than the first, the number of delegates exceeding 200, and the interest in its proceedings was heightened by the presence of the man who was for a time destined to play the most important part in the councils of the organization—William H. Sylvis.

Sylvis's influence on the labor movement of the period under discussion was so great that a brief biographical sketch of him will not be out of place here.

William H. Sylvis was born in the village of Armagh, Pennsylvania, on the 26th day of November, 1828, as the second son of a journeyman wagon-maker. His parents were too poor to give him any education, and at the age of eleven years he was hired out as some sort of domestic and general farm-hand to a certain Mr. Pawling, who first taught him the alphabet. At the age of eighteen he learned the trade of iron molding, and in 1857 he joined the Iron Molders' Union of Philadelphia, which had then been recently organized. From that time on and until the day of his death, Sylvis was ever active in the trade-union movement. Wherever an enterprise or struggle of any magnitude was undertaken by working men of his trade, Sylvis was sure to be found in the front ranks of the movement, and his name is identified with almost every important phase of the trade-union history of that period.

In 1859 a national convention of iron molders was called on the suggestion of Sylvis, who was also the author of the address issued by the convention to the iron molders of the United States.

The address was a brief and pithy document, and a remarkable attestation of the keenness of intellect and eloquence of style of this humble working man with no educational advantages worth mentioning.

"In all countries," is one of the remarks of the address, "and at all times, capital has been used by those possessing

it to monopolize particular branches of business, until the vast and various industrial pursuits of the world have been brought under the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind."

And again:

"What position are we, the mechanics of America, to hold in society? Are we to receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate our children, and qualify them to play their part in the world's drama; or must we be forced to bow the suppliant knee to wealth, and earn by unprofitable toil a life too void of solace to confirm the very claims that bind us to our doom?"

Sylvis was elected successively treasurer and president of the national union, and, after the organization had been considerably demoralized by the war excitement, the arduous task of reorganizing it also fell to his lot. "During this period," relates his brother,* "Sylvis wore clothes until they became quite threadbare, and he could wear them no longer; the shawl he wore to the day of his death was filled with little holes, burned there by the splashing of the molten iron from the ladles of molders in strange cities, whom he was beseeching to organize, and more than once he was compelled to beg a ride from place to place on an engine, because he had no money sufficient to pay his fare."

The extraordinary efforts of Sylvis were crowned by success, and within a short time the Iron Molders' National Union was one of the strongest and most prosperous labor organizations in the country.

Sylvis took an active and prominent part in the formation of the National Labor-Union, but sickness prevented him from attending the first convention of that body.

In the Chicago convention of 1867 he played a leading

* "The Life, Speeches, Labors, and Essays, of William H. Sylvis," by his Brother, James C. Sylvis, Philadelphia, 1872.

part. The question of the formation of an independent labor party was again broached by Sylvis, who advocated the measure with his customary logic and vigor, but the majority of the delegates were as yet not ready for so radical a step, and the proposition was voted down on a pretty close vote.

The subject of establishing official connections with the European International was also discussed, and strongly advocated by the president of the union, Jessup, and by Sylvis, who had already, on a previous occasion, expressed himself on the subject in the following language: "At this hour a struggle is going on in the Old World, the result of which will be the social and political emancipation of enslaved millions. . . . Need I tell you that the interests of labor are identical throughout the world? . . . It is a matter of vital importance that an equilibrium of wages should be established throughout the world. Hence both our sympathies and interests are enlisted in favor of the great reform movement abroad. A victory to them will be a victory to us; and the news of their triumph shall be heard across the Atlantic; the working men of America will ring out shouts of triumph from Maine to California."

The convention, however, decided not to join the International, and disposed of the subject by the adoption of the following resolution:

"*Whereas*, The efforts of the working classes in Europe to acquire political power, to improve their social conditions, and to emancipate themselves from the bondage under which they were and still are, are gratifying proof of the progress of justice, enlightenment, and civilization;

"*Resolved*, That the National Labor Convention hereby declares its sympathies, and promises its cooperation to the organized working men of Europe in their struggle against political and social injustice."

The third convention of the National Labor-Union was held in New York in August, 1868. By this time the organization had largely grown in numbers, influence, and

power, and a number of professional politicians had succeeded in gaining access to its councils.

But the leading spirit of the convention was Sylvis, and his pet idea—the establishment of an independent labor party—was at last realized; the National Reform Party was organized amid deafening cheers of the numerous delegates of the convention.

Sylvis was elected president of the organization, and it was he also who drafted its platform. The document was patterned after the Declaration of Independence; it dwelt at some length upon the rights of labor, and devoted much space to the discussion of monetary reforms in the sense of Kellog and the Greenback Party, under whose influence Sylvis had fallen.

A new and fruitful field of activity was now opened to Sylvis, who set himself to the task of building up the new party with his customary earnestness and vigor. Hardly a labor meeting of any significance was held anywhere in the country without a letter or circular being received from the indefatigable agitator and organizer.

“The organization of a new party—a working man’s party—for the purpose of getting control of Congress and the several State legislatures, is a huge work, but it can and must be done.” He proclaimed in one of his circulars, “We have been the tools of professional politicians of all parties long enough; let us now cut loose from all party ties, and organize a working man’s party founded upon honesty, economy, and equal rights and privileges of all men.”

And in another circular:

“Our people are being divided into two classes—the rich and the poor, the producers and the non-producers.

“The working people of our nation, white and black, male and female, are sinking to a condition of serfdom. Even now a slavery exists in our land worse than ever existed under the old slave system.”

Since the organization of the Labor Reform Party, Sylvis

had been in correspondence with leading members of the European International, and had strongly developed in the direction of modern socialism. In a letter to the General Council at about that time he wrote:

"Our aim is a common one—it is the war between poverty and riches. Our last war has resulted in the development of an infamous moneyed aristocracy. This money power is rapidly consuming the power of the people. We are combating it, and hope to be victorious." And the General Council of the International was not slow in responding to these advances. In May, 1869, it addressed an open letter to the National Labor-Union, of which we quote the following portion:

"In our address of felicitation to Mr. Lincoln on the occasion of his reelection to the presidency of the United States, we expressed our conviction that the civil war will prove as important to the progress of the working class as the War of the Rebellion had been for the progress of the bourgeoisie.

"And actually the victorious termination of the antislavery war has inaugurated a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the United States an independent labor movement has since sprung into life, which is not being viewed with much favor by the old parties and the professional politicians."

The address was followed by a formal request to the National Labor-Union to send delegates to the next convention of the International, to be held at Basle in 1869.

Another connecting link between the National Labor-Union and the European Socialist movement were the German labor organizations of the United States.

Already, in 1866, a number of German trade-unions in the city of New York had organized a central body under the name "Arbeiter Union" (Working-Men's Union), and two years later the organization commenced the publication of a paper under the same title, *Arbeiter Union*, which gradually acquired much influence in the German labor movement.

When the Labor Reform Party was organized, the *Arbeiter Union* supported it, but at the same time it published reports of the proceedings of the International, and by degrees fell under the influence of socialism. Especially was that the case when the editorial charge of the paper was assumed by Dr. Adolph Douai.

Douai had a very eventful career behind him. Born in Altenburg, Germany, in 1819, he received an excellent education, and devoted himself to his chosen vocation, that of teaching. He took an active part in the revolution of 1848, was captured, tried, and imprisoned, and in 1852 he emigrated to Texas. He founded a small paper in San Antonio, which was written, set, printed, and distributed by him without any outside help, so that he was often compelled to work 100 hours a week. The paper was devoted to the cause of abolition, and its editor was, on that account, often subjected to persecutions and ill treatment by the mob. After three years of struggle, Douai was compelled to leave San Antonio, but the negro population of Texas always bore him a grateful memory for his devotion to their cause, and in 1868 he received a newspaper with the following announcement printed in bold type at the head of the first column:

"This paper, edited and set by negroes, is being printed on the same press from which Dr. Douai for the first time advocated the emancipation of the negroes in Texas. Let this serve him as a token of gratitude of the colored race that they preserve the memory of his efforts for their freedom."

During the following ten years Douai again took up his interrupted pedagogic labors in Boston, Hoboken, and New York, until he was elected to the editorship of the *Arbeiter Union* in 1868. Later on, Douai became one of the leading exponents of Marxian socialism in the United States, and was one of the most valued members of the editorial staff of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from 1878 to 1888. The *Arbeiter Union*, however, was only his *début* in the practical

labor movement, and his views were not yet quite clear on all points.

His support of the platform of the National Labor Party and advocacy of the principles of the International at one and the same time were frequently criticized as inconsistent; but be that as it may, his paper contributed materially to the establishment of friendly relations between the two movements, and these relations were strengthened still further when the General German Working-Men's Association joined the National Labor-Union in February, 1869.

The fourth convention of the National Labor-Union and Labor Reform Party thus approached with every prospect of a definite union being established between that body and the International, but the progress of the tendency in that direction was suddenly checked by an unexpected event—on the 27th day of July, 1869, Sylvis died after a brief illness.

Ordinarily the life or death of a single individual matters little in a great social or political movement, but at a time when a young movement has arrived at the critical point of the parting of the ways, and the masses are uneducated and inexperienced, and easily led into any direction, the loss of a clear-minded, energetic, and honest leader is a great blow. And such was undoubtedly the effect of Sylvis's death on the further career of the American Labor-Union. That the International fully appreciated the loss is evidenced by the memorial of the General Council, which concluded with these words:

"That the American labor movement does not depend on the life of a single individual is certain, but not less certain is the fact that the loss sustained by the present labor convention through the death of Sylvis can not be compensated. The eyes of all were turned on Sylvis, who, as a general of the proletarian army, had an experience of ten years outside of his great abilities—and Sylvis is dead."

The premature death of its leader proved fatal to the progress of the National Labor-Union.

Sylvis did not leave a single successor in the ranks of the organization of sufficient intelligence and power to inoculate in the young movement the substance and spirit of the International—the distinctness of labor interests, and the German socialists of the United States had too little influence on the American labor movement to guide its political course.

At the fourth convention of the National Labor-Union, held at Philadelphia in August, 1869, it was decided to send an official representative to the Basle convention of the International.

A. C. Cameron was elected delegate, and attended the convention of the International, where he gave grossly exaggerated accounts of the strength of the organization represented by him, but did not otherwise participate in the deliberations of the convention.

The only prominent member of the National Labor-Union who remained in active correspondence with the International after Sylvis's death was Jessup, and it was he who, at the fifth convention of the organization, held at Cincinnati in August, 1870, procured the passage of the following resolution: "The National Labor-Union declares its adherence to the principles of the International Working-Men's Association, and expects to join the said association in a short time."

But the National Labor-Union never joined the International, and never developed into a genuine class-conscious working men's party.

The further fate of the National Labor Party, and with it the Labor Reform Party, was the common fate of all independent political parties formed by trade-unions before and after it. As soon as it acquired any appreciable strength, it was invaded by professional politicians, who entangled it in alliances with other political parties; its platform was gradually watered, its class character obliterated, its identity obscured, and finally it merged into one of the dominant political parties.

The dissolution of the National Labor-Union was, besides, accelerated by a series of ill-fated strikes, which weakened the labor movement in the United States. In January, 1871, the leaders of the movement met at Washington to discuss a plan of campaign. In view of the decreasing interest in the movement on the part of the industrial working men, it was decided to enlist the sympathies of the farmers by adopting some farmers' planks in the platform. The result of the change was, that the strongest trade-unions withdrew from the National Labor-Union, and when its regular annual session convened at St. Louis in August of the same year, it was attended by only twenty-one delegates. Like crows at the scent of a cadaver, the professional reformers gathered around the political corpse. In this case it was Wendell Phillips and Benjamin Butler who officiated at the funeral services of the erstwhile strong and promising labor organization. The platform adopted by the convention under their influence was the usual stock-in-trade of the middle-class reformer. Two more attempts were made to revive the movement, conventions for that purpose being called in 1873 at Columbus and in 1874 at Rochester, but the conventions evoked no interest or enthusiasm in the working class, and the National Labor-Union passed out of existence.

III.—THE INTERNATIONAL IN THE UNITED STATES

THE first organizations directly affiliated with the International appeared in the United States around the year 1868. They were small societies in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, composed almost exclusively of German socialists, and styled "sections" of the International.

In New York the movement was inaugurated by a call issued in December, 1867, for a mass meeting to be held in the Germania Assembly Rooms, on the Bowery, in January, 1868. The call was signed by C. Carl, E. Eilenberg, A.

Kamp, F. Krahlinger, and C. A. Petersen, all of whom were men of influence in German labor circles, and the meeting was well attended.

After a thorough discussion of the political situation, it was decided to organize an independent political labor party, and THE SOCIAL PARTY OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY was accordingly formed.

The party adopted a platform which was a sort of a compromise between the declaration of principles of the International and the platform of the National Labor-Union, and appointed two executive boards—one an English-speaking, and the other a German-speaking—who together formed the political campaign committee of the party. The Social Party nominated an independent ticket at the elections of 1868, but its vote seems to have been very insignificant.

Immediately after this, its first and last campaign, the party dissolved, and some of its most active and intelligent members organized the "General German Labor Association" (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*).

This was the first strictly Marxian organization of some strength and influence on American soil, and the latest phase of the socialist movement in this country may be said to date from the organization of that society.

"The members," relates Sorge,* "almost exclusively plain wage-workers of every possible trade, vied with each other in the study of the most difficult economic and political problems. Among the hundreds of members who belonged to the society from 1869 to 1874, there was hardly one who had not read his Marx ('Capital'), and more than a dozen of them had mastered the most involved passages and definitions, and were armed against any attacks of the capitalist, middle-class, radical, or reform schools."

In February, 1869, the General German Working-Men's Association was admitted to the National Labor-Union,

* "Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten, 1867-1877," von F. A. Sorge. *Neue Zeit*, No. 13, 1891-92.

receiving the name "Labor-Union No. 5 of New York." It was represented by delegates in the conventions of the National Labor-Union of 1869 and 1870, but withdrew from that body immediately after the latter convention.

In the fall of 1869 the society joined the International Working-Men's Association as "Section 1 of New York," and all through the career of the International it has remained its strongest and most reliable branch in this country.

Section 1 maintained active and friendly relations with a number of trade-unions and other labor organizations in this country, and was instrumental in the formation of other sections of the International in the United States.

In 1870 a French section of the International was organized in New York, and was followed by a Bohemian section in the fall of the same year.

In 1868 a German section was formed in San Francisco, and one year later the German socialists of Chicago formed their first section.

In December, 1870, the three New York sections of the International, by the direction of the General Council, formed a provisional Central Committee for the United States, and the movement commenced to make substantial progress. The warm reception accorded by the International to the Fenian leader, O'Donovan Rossa, upon his arrival at New York in 1871, had won for the organization the sympathies of many Irishmen; the fall of the Paris Commune in the same year drove numerous radical Frenchmen to the shores of this country, where they were cordially welcomed by the International; and finally the organization succeeded in reaching the ranks of American labor by its active support in the numerous strikes of that year.

The most significant of these strikes was that of the anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania, which lasted over six months and involved over 30,000 men.

Under these favorable circumstances the International spread rapidly. The number of sections grew within about

one year from six to thirty or more, and the territory covered by them embraced the cities of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, Newark, Springfield, Washington, and Williamsburg. The total number of enrolled members was about 5,000, and they were composed of Americans, Irishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Scandinavians, and Bohemians. "The International," says Sorge in his article already quoted, "had at that time become the fashion." The press devoted much space to its proceedings, its views and methods were discussed at public meetings, and even the United States Congress paid considerable attention to its doings. So Congressman Hoar, afterward Attorney-General in the Cleveland cabinet, in the course of a debate on the question of the appointment of a commission to investigate into the conditions of labor, quoted extensively and with approval from some resolutions adopted by the General Council of the International.

This sudden popularity of the movement had, however, its reverses.

Reformers of all shades invaded the International, each of them trying to utilize the organization for the propaganda of his or her peculiar social doctrines. Especially troublesome in this respect was one of the American sections of New York, known as Section 12. This section was dominated by the two sisters, Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, women of culture and wealth, but of rather singular notions on many subjects, which they promulgated in their magazine, *The Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*.

Under the leadership of these ladies, Section 12, and after it, Section 9, set up a separate "American" movement in opposition to that of the "aliens," and centered its propaganda chiefly on woman's rights, free love, etc.

"Section 12," complains the Federal Council of the International in an official document,* "finally proceeded on its own hook to issue an appeal to the English-speaking citi-

* "Appeal to the Working Men of America," New York, 1872.

zens of the United States for affiliation—an appeal famous for its ludicrous attempt to saddle the International with every imaginable visionary idea of issue, except the cause of labor, the name of which even does not seem to agree with that section's idea of euphony, since it is scarcely mentioned in that appeal of considerable length."

This conduct provoked the dissatisfaction of the older sections. Section 1 demanded the suspension of Section 12, and was supported in that demand by the majority of the German and Irish sections. The American sections, two German, and the majority of the French sections, grouped themselves around Section 12, and as a result, the organization of the International was split, Section 1 and its adherents forming an independent Federal Council.

Both sides submitted their grievances to the General Council of the International at London, which rendered its decision on the controversy in March, 1872. By this decision Section 12 was suspended, and the administrative boards of both factions were directed to unite into one provisional committee until the next national convention, which was to establish definite regulations for the administration of affairs of the American sections of the International. The feud was thus ended. Section 12 still continued an independent existence for some time, but its doings became so ridiculous that it lost all influence on its former supporters in the International. The last act in the career of Section 12 was the convocation of a convention of all "male and female beings of America," to be held at the Apollo Theater in New York on May 11th. The convention met pursuant to call, and after discussing all possible kinds of reform, including the introduction of a universal language, wound up by nominating a ticket headed by Victoria Woodhull as candidate for the presidency of the United States.

The first national convention of the International was held on the 6th day of July, 1872, at the city of New York. Twenty-two sections were represented. The convention

assumed the official name of NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION, and adopted a set of rules and regulations for the government of its affairs.

The executive functions of the organization were vested in a committee of nine, designated the Federal Council, and the council elected for the first year consisted of three Germans, two Frenchmen, two Irishmen, one Swede, and one Italian.

The rules and regulations also provided that in every section to be formed in the future, at least three-fourths of the members should be wage-workers, and enjoined upon all sections "to entertain good relations with the trade-unions and to promote their formation."

A new impetus was given to the American movement at about the same time by the transfer of the seat of the General Council of the International from London to New York. The convention at The Hague elected to the council twelve members, of whom four were Germans, three Frenchmen, two Irishmen, one an American, one a Swede, and one an Italian. The council was headed by F. A. Sorge as general secretary. Sorge was well qualified for the duties of this responsible and delicate position. A veteran of the German revolution of 1848, and a personal friend and coworker of Marx and Engels, he arrived at this country in 1852, and by dint of his tact, abilities, and intimate knowledge of the labor question, he soon conquered for himself a position in the front ranks of the early socialist movement in this country.

He was the leading spirit of the International in the United States, ever active in organizing new sections and in the direction of their activity, and his name is prominently connected with every phase of the movement of that period. In the later developments of the movement, Sorge was but little active, and he now leads a somewhat retired life at Hoboken, N. J.

During the year following the events above described, the

history of the International was devoid of any significant incidents. Some old sections disbanded, some new ones were organized, and on the whole the organization remained stationary, if not somewhat stagnant.

But toward the close of the next year the organization was again brought prominently before the public in connection with the general labor troubles of the country.

The collapse of the Northern Pacific in 1873 had caused an almost unprecedented financial and industrial panic in the United States. The destitution of the population in all industrial centers grew alarming, especially during the cold winter season, and it was estimated that in the State of New York alone over 180,000 working men were left without means of subsistence. A lively agitation for the relief of the unemployed was inaugurated, and in the city of New York the German socialists stood at the head of the movement. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, official organ of the International, published a plan for the relief of the unemployed which consisted of the following three points:

1. Employment of the unemployed on public works.
2. Advances of money or food for at least one week to all who stand in need of it.
3. Suspension of all laws for the dispossession of delinquent tenants.

A joint mass-meeting was subsequently held at the Cooper Union Institute by some sections of the International and some American trade-unions, and an executive committee was elected with instructions to take such further steps in the movement as it would deem expedient.

Under the management of this committee, a number of public meetings were held, and a petition for relief was addressed to the mayor.

As the culminating point of the agitation, a gigantic demonstration in the form of a procession of unemployed was arranged to be held on the 13th day of January, 1874. It was the original plan of the committee that the parade

should disband in front of the City Hall, but this was prohibited by the authorities, and Tompkins Square was chosen as the next best place for the purpose.

At the appointed time the parade was formed. Crowds of working men from all parts of the city fell in line during its progress, and by the time it reached Tompkins Square it had swelled on to an immense procession.

There was no sign of impending trouble; the procession was orderly and peaceful, and the mayor of the city was expected to address the assembled crowds and to suggest measures of relief.

But no sooner had the paraders reached Tompkins Square than a large force of policemen, without provocation or warning, charged the crowd with drawn clubs, striking right and left, and during the ensuing general *melée* hundreds of working men were seriously injured.

Several arrests were thereupon made, and the "offenders" were heavily punished for resistance to the police.

The Tompkins Square incident caused a great deal of bitter feeling among the working men of New York.

A demonstration of similar dimensions, but less disastrous in results, took place at almost the same time in Chicago. That city was just recovering from the horrors of the famous conflagration, when the panic of 1873 threw it anew into a state of indescribable destitution.

A movement for the relief of the unemployed, similar to that of New York, was organized by the Chicago sections of the International in conjunction with a few other labor organizations. On the 21st day of December, 1873, the leaders of the movement arranged a mass-meeting, in which over 5,000 persons are said to have participated. Speeches were made in five languages, and a committee of eight was elected to submit the demands of the meeting to the City Council. To insure greater attention on the part of the city fathers, it was decided to give the delegation a mass escort of unemployed working men.

On the next day the city of Chicago witnessed a most remarkable and unexpected spectacle. Early in the evening masses of working men assembled at the appointed place and formed themselves into lines. All Chicago seemed to be on its feet, and when the procession, headed by the delegation of eight, started for its destination, there were over 20,000 persons in line. There seemed to be no commander or leader, but perfect order prevailed in the ranks, and the whole procession looked more like a well-drilled and disciplined military body than a heterogeneous crowd of working men gathered at random over night.

The demonstration had its effect on the City Council: the latter promised to do all in its power to comply with the requests of the unemployed, and invited the delegation for a conference on the subject on the following day. The promises were not kept, the demonstration led to no practical results, but out of the movement grew a new socialist party—THE LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS, with a membership of over 2,000.

Similar occurrences took place in other cities of the Union, notably in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, and Newark, and the members of the International took an active part in the agitation and demonstrations of the unemployed in those cities.

On the 11th day of April, 1874, the second national convention of the American sections of the International was held at Philadelphia.

The convention did not assemble under very auspicious circumstances. The recent events in the labor movement just described had given rise to sharp controversies as to the policy to be pursued in the future by the International. A large portion of the members, and among them some of the most active, advocated a greater degree of attention to the labor movement at home than abroad, and a more liberal interpretation of the Rules and Regulations of the International, so as to permit of its cooperation with elements in

the labor movement that could not be classed as socialistic in the scientific application of the term; the older and more influential members, on the other hand, insisted on the preservation of the old principles and methods of the International in all their purity.

The upshot of these controversies in Chicago was, the formation of a rival socialist party, the Labor Party of Illinois mentioned above. In New York several sections withdrew from the organization for the same cause, and a few months later organized the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKING-MEN'S PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA.

Under these circumstances, the attendance at the Philadelphia convention was, as might be expected, rather poor. Only twenty-three sections sent delegates. It was proposed to transfer the seat of the Federal Council to Philadelphia or Baltimore, but neither of the two cities proved willing to accept the proffered honor, and the convention wound up by abolishing the office altogether, and vesting its functions in the General Council of the International.

To prevent any abuse of power by the council, a Control Committee was appointed, with authority to investigate and pass upon any grievances against the official acts of that body.

The attitude of the International toward political action in the United States was defined in the following resolution:

"Considering that the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working men themselves,

"The Congress of the North American Federation has resolved:

"The North American Federation rejects all cooperation and connection with the political parties formed by the possessing classes, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats, or Independents or Liberals, or Patrons of Industry or Patrons of Husbandry (Grangers), or Reformers, or whatever name they may adopt. Consequently, no member of the Federation can belong any longer to such a party.

"The political action of the Federation confines itself generally to the endeavor of obtaining legislative acts in the interest of the working class proper, and always in a manner to distinguish and separate the working-men's party from all the political parties of the possessing classes.

"The Federation will not enter into a truly political campaign or election movement before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then, in the first place, on the field of the municipality, town or city (commune), whence this political movement may be transferred to the large communities (counties, States, United States), according to circumstances, and always in conformity with the Congress Resolutions."

The convention of 1874 failed to adjust the International to the existing conditions of the American labor movement, and, despite the apparent harmony of its proceedings, it had not succeeded in quelling the dissensions within its ranks.

Shortly after the convention a controversy arose on the subject of the editorial management of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the official organ of the International, established in 1873. Sorge and his adherents expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which the paper was conducted, and offered some improvements. C. Carl, the editor of the paper, resented the criticism. The controversy grew heated and personal.

Section 1 of New York, heretofore the strongest organization in the International, sided with Carl, and, claiming the paper for its own, appointed a guard of ten men to protect its property against the General Council of the International.

The latter retorted promptly by suspending the section. The matter was subsequently brought before the courts, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* suspended publication, and the split in the ranks of the International became general.

But if the progress of the International in the United States was unsatisfactory, it was still more so in the countries of Europe—since the seat of the General Council was

transferred from London to New York, the existence of the association in Europe was but nominal.

In 1875 it was decided to dispense with the International convention planned to be held that year.

"The condition of our association has steadily grown worse since the Geneva convention," complains the new General Council in a circular issued on that occasion. "More or less regular communications were had only with Zurich and London, and loose connections were maintained with Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Of all former federations, the North American is the only one to survive, and the existence of even this one is greatly impaired by internal dissensions.

"In most European countries, as France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Germany, Denmark, and others, our members and adherents are being persecuted to such a degree that even the most devoted of them have grown somewhat timid, and were compelled to abandon direct connections with us."

The last convention of the International Working-Men's Association was held in Philadelphia on the 15th day of July, 1876. The convention stood in sad contrast to the reunions of the International in the period of its bloom: it was composed of ten delegates from the United States, and one, A. Otto-Walster, supposed to represent a group of members in Germany.

To continue the nominal existence of the erstwhile powerful international organization of labor under such circumstances was not to be thought of; the organization had to be formally dissolved, and the delegates at once proceeded to the performance of the sad duty.

The General Council of the International was abolished, and the archives and documents of the organization were entrusted to F. A. Sorge and C. Speyer, to be turned over by them to any new international labor-union to be formed in the future. Before adjourning, the convention adopted the following proclamation:

"Fellow Working Men:

"The International convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Working-Men's Association, and the external bond of the organization exists no more.

"The International is dead!' the *bourgeoisie* of all countries will again exclaim, and with ridicule and joy it will point to the proceedings of this convention as documentary proof of the defeat of the labor movement of the world. Let us not be influenced by the cry of our enemies! We have abandoned the organization of the International for reasons arising from the present political situation of Europe, but as a compensation for it we see the principles of the organization recognized and defended by the progressive working men of the entire civilized world. Let us give our fellow-workers in Europe a little time to strengthen their national affairs, and they will surely soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the working men of other parts of the world.

"Comrades! you have embraced the principle of the International with heart and love; you will find means to extend the circle of its adherents even without an organization. You will win new champions who will work for the realization of the aims of our association. The comrades in America promise you that they will faithfully guard and cherish the acquisitions of the International in this country until more favorable conditions will again bring together the working men of all countries to common struggle, and the cry will resound again louder than ever:

"Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

The prediction of this last convention of the International came true. Thirteen years later the first of a series of brilliant international socialist conventions was held at Paris, attended by 395 delegates from twenty countries in Europe and America.

IV.—THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

IN the last chapter we had occasion to take passing notice of the formation of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKING-MEN'S PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA. This party was formally organized on the 4th day of July, 1874, by several sections of the International which had withdrawn from the organization earlier in the year, in conjunction with some radical labor organizations of New York, Williamsburg, Newark, and Philadelphia.

The party adopted a terse platform and declaration of principles which, as revised one year later, read as follows:

"The Social Democratic Working-Men's Party seeks to establish a free state founded upon labor. Each member of the party promises to uphold, to the best of his ability, the following principles:

"1. Abolishment of the present unjust political and social conditions.

"2. Discontinuance of all class rule and class privileges.

"3. Abolition of the working men's dependence upon the capitalist by introduction of cooperative labor in place of the wage system, so that every laborer will get the full value of his work.

"4. Obtaining possession of the political power as a prerequisite for the solution of the labor question.

"5. United struggle, united organization of all working men, and strict subordination of the individual under the laws framed for the general welfare.

"6 Sympathy with the working men of all countries who strive to attain the same object."

The administration of the party affairs was vested in an executive board of five members and a "control committee" of nine. The first secretary of the board was A. Strasser, a cigar maker of New York, a man of great tact and energy,

who played an important part in the socialist movement of this country during the period under consideration, but later devoted himself exclusively to the trade-union movement.

In a measure as the International lost ground in the United States, the Social Democratic Party gained strength and influence.

Its second convention, held at Philadelphia on July 4th, 5th, and 6th, 1875, was well attended. A number of new members had joined the party, among them some very active organizers and gifted agitators, such as P. J. McGuire, afterward for a number of years General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters; R. A. Parsons, who subsequently turned anarchist and played a conspicuous part in the Chicago tragedy of 1886; and G. A. Schilling, an eloquent speaker and a man of considerable influence in Chicago labor circles.

The party also, at about that time, published an English weekly in New York under the title *The Socialist*.

The most important act of the second convention of the Social Democratic Working-Men's Party was the passing of a resolution instructing the executive board to use its good offices to bring about a union of all socialist organizations of the country.

In the fall of 1875 several conferences were accordingly held in the city of New York to deliberate on the proposition. These conferences were composed of J. P. McDonnell and D. Kronberg, representing the "United Workers," an independent organization of English-speaking socialists, at one time affiliated with the International; and A. Strasser, McGregor, J. G. Speyer, and Hansen, representing the Social Democratic Working-Men's Party. The German-speaking sections of the International were represented on the conference by Sorge, Bertrand, Leib, and Hesse, and the French section by the famous Icarian and Communard, A. Sauva

No definite results were accomplished by the conferences. In the mean while the scattered remnants of the National

Labor-Union gathered themselves together in a last attempt to revive their movement. Upon the initiative of John Davis, editor of the *National Tribune*, and at one time presidential candidate of the N. L. U., a national convention was called for the purpose of forming a new political labor party. The convention was to be held at Pittsburg on the 17th day of April, 1876. The socialists of the United States saw in this proposed convention a good opportunity for the strengthening of their movement, and representatives of their various parties and organizations by agreement assembled at Pittsburg on the eve of the convention.

The convention of the National Labor-Union was composed of 106 delegates of the most heterogeneous political complexion, and was easily captured by the socialists among them, some twenty in number, who spoke and acted as a unit, had well-defined views, and knew how to express them.

The victory had no practical significance, as the convention adjourned without accomplishing anything, but it proved fruitful for the socialist movement in another direction—the various socialist groups assembled at Pittsburg agreed upon a plan of union, and arranged to hold a convention in the near future for the purpose of putting the plan into practical execution. The convention was held in Philadelphia from the 19th until the 22d day of July, 1876.

The composition and strength of the convention were as follows: The North American Federation of the International Working-Men's Association, with a membership of 635, was represented by F. A. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer. The Social Democratic Working-Men's Party of North America, with a membership of 1,500, was represented by A. Strasser, P. J. McGuire, and A. Gabriel. The Labor Party of Illinois, with a membership of 593, sent C. Conzett; and Charles Braun, who represented the Socio-Political Labor-Union of Cincinnati, claimed for the latter a membership of 250.

Representatives from the Free German Community of

Philadelphia, the Slavonian Socio-Political Labor-Union of Cincinnati, and the Labor-Union of Milwaukee, were refused seats at the convention, on the ground that their respective organizations had not been represented on the Pittsburg conference. The work of the convention was commenced by formally consolidating the several organizations represented into one party, under the name WORKING-MEN'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

At the head of the new party was placed a national executive committee of seven. The committee was subject to the control of a "board of supervision" consisting of five members. The seat of the national committee was located at Chicago, that of the board of supervision at New Haven.

The *Socialist* and *Sozial Demokrat*, heretofore published by the Social Democratic Working-Men's Party, were declared official organs of the new party, and their names changed to *Labor Standard* and *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the Working Men) respectively. The *Vorbote* (Harbinger), published in Chicago by the Labor Party of Illinois, was continued under the same name and also made an official party organ.

J. P. McDonnell was elected editor of the *Labor Standard*, C. Conzett editor of the *Vorbote*, the *Arbeiterstimme* was left under its former editorial management, and A. Douai was made assistant editor of all three papers.

The platform adopted by the Working-Men's Party of the United States is a scientific and somewhat abstract exposition of the cardinal points of Marxian socialism.

In December, 1877, at the second convention of the Working-Men's Party, held at Newark, N. J., the name of the party was changed to SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER III

The Socialist Labor Party

I.—THE PLACE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

THE Socialist Labor Party was the dominant factor in the socialist movement of this country for more than twenty years, and its variegated career forms the most intricate and interesting part of the history of American socialism.

At the first glance it appears a series of incoherent events, ill-considered political experiments, sudden changes of policy, incongruous alliances, internal and external strife, and a succession of unaccountable ups and downs, with no perceptible progress or gain.

But the confusion is only apparent. On closer analysis we find a logical thread running all through the seemingly devious course of the party, and a good reason for every one of its seemingly planless moves.

The difficulties which beset the path of the Socialist Labor Party were extraordinary. As one of the first socialist parties organized in this country on national scale, it had to cope with the usual adversities which attend every radical reform movement at the outset of its career—weakness and diffidence in its own ranks, hostility and ridicule from the outside.

But apart from these natural obstacles, the Socialist Labor Party suffered from one grave disadvantage peculiarly its own. In the countries of Europe the socialist movement sprang up in the midst of the native population and adjusted itself to the economic and political conditions of each country quite mechanically and without effort. But in the United States the situation was altogether different. It is estimated that no more than ten per cent. of the members of the Socialist Labor Party, during the period described, were

native Americans. All the rest, including the most active and influential leaders of the party, were men of foreign birth, insufficiently acquainted with the institutions, customs, and habits of the country of their adoption, and frequently ignorant of its very language.

Under these circumstances the pioneers of the movement soon realized the hopelessness of their task to effect radical social and economic changes in this country by their own efforts, and henceforward they considered it their special mission to acclimatize the movement and to leave its further development to the American working men. The endeavor to "Americanize" the socialist movement is the keynote to the activity of the Socialist Labor Party throughout its entire career.

That the movement could not become "Americanized" before the great masses of the population, and especially the working men, were reached by the propaganda of socialism, was too obvious to admit of any dispute: the great question was, how to reach them most effectively.

This question was at all times the subject of the most animated discussions and heated controversies within the party, it shaped its policy, determined its actions, and was at the bottom of all its struggles.

Surveying the field of American institutions, the founders of the Socialist Labor Party discovered two principal avenues through which they could expect to approach the native working men with the greatest chances of success—the trade-unions and political activity.

On the continent of Europe, socialism had in some cases preceded and to a certain degree developed the trade-union movement, in other cases both movements had developed simultaneously and were regarded as a necessary complement to each other, and on the whole the trade-unions were in full accord with the socialist movement.

In the United States the trade-union movement sprang up before the socialist movement, and the Socialist Labor

Party found it just entering on the period of its bloom. In 1878 the first general assembly of the Knights of Labor was held, and the period of phenomenal growth of the order began. Three years later the Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, which subsequently developed into the American Federation of Labor, was organized.

In these two bodies, as well as in the numerous unaffiliated national and local trade-unions, hundreds of thousands of American working men were organized during the next few years. Their platforms were often radical, and in many points inclined decidedly toward socialism. In their meetings and conventions they discussed social problems, with particular reference to the relations of capital to labor, and in their oft-recurring strikes they were being trained in active battle against capital. No wonder then that the socialists saw in the trade-unions their natural allies, and that they strove to bring the two movements into close touch with each other.

At almost every one of its conventions the Socialist Labor Party proclaimed its sympathy with the objects and methods of the labor-unions, and called upon its members to join the organizations of their trade; in a number of instances the party sought direct representation in the central bodies of organized labor; its official organs supported the trade-unions, and in many important strikes the socialists were found on the side of the strikers, aiding, counseling, and at times directing them in their battle. But notwithstanding these efforts, the influence of the Socialist Labor Party on the trade-union movement was for a long time rather insignificant. The socialists were as yet numerically too weak to permeate the much-ramified labor movement and to shape its course as they had hoped to do, and voices were at times raised within the party protesting against its activity in the unions as a waste of time.

These protests grew especially loud during the periods of industrial depression, when the efficiency of the trade-unions

was greatly impaired. At such times the party would not infrequently assume an attitude of indifference, sometimes even hostility, to the trade-unions. Again, whenever the trade-unions came to the front owing to a wave of prosperity, the party would renew its activity among them.

Hardly less varying were the fortunes of the party in the field of politics.

Politics were at all times regarded by the socialists as an essential part of their movement. The issues of socialism are political in their nature; the conquest of the political machinery is regarded by the socialists as a necessary prerequisite to the realization of their social ideal; they believe in the efficiency of legislative measures to correct economic abuses, and finally they regard political campaigns as great educating factors, and excellent opportunities for the dissemination of new social theories among the populations at large.

At the time of the organization of the Socialist Labor Party the socialists in Germany had already been in the political arena for about ten years, and had succeeded in uniting almost half a million voters under their banner, and in the United States, with its more democratic form of government and greater importance and frequency of elections, the opportunities were still more tempting. But how to go about it? On this question the camp was divided for a number of years. One group, consisting principally of the native American element within the party and a number of former Lassalleans, advocated active and independent politics at all times, while others pointed at the weakness of the party and its poor chances of success as an independent political factor, and advised either to abstain from politics altogether until such time as the party would be strong enough to make a respectable showing at the polls, or to cooperate with other existing reform parties and endeavor to infuse into the latter as much of the doctrines of socialism as possible. And according to the political and economic

situation of the country at any given time, either the one view or the other gained the ascendancy in the party.

A series of labor troubles prepared by a period of industrial depression would create a sentiment favorable to radical reform politics, and then the party would either nominate its own candidates, or, if a reform party had sprung up as a result of such sentiment, cooperate with it. In several places and at several times the Socialist Labor Party, alone or in conjunction with its political allies, succeeded in polling a comparatively large vote, but it had no means to follow up and retain its gains. A new wave of prosperity would strike the country, the spirit of discontent would subside, and the socialist votes would disappear.

Under these unpropitious circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that even the sturdiest and most optimistic among the socialists at times succumbed to the spirit of discouragement, while those of the weaker clay either withdrew from public life altogether, or sought a quieter haven in the ranks of the trade-union movement or the old political parties.

It was at the period of the greatest desolation in the socialist camp that the specter of Anarchism loomed up in the United States. Anarchism, with its negation of all laws of social progress, its ridicule of reform measures, and its gospel of violent destruction—anarchism, the general philosophy of despair—had a peculiar fascination for the discouraged and disgruntled socialists of that period. The new doctrine threatened to make deep inroads in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and to wipe out whatever little progress the young organization had made, by discrediting it in the eyes of the American working men. The Socialist Labor Party now had the additional task of combating anarchism, and for several years its efforts were diverted from the work of furthering its own movement to the struggle with the new foe.

The struggle was carried on relentlessly by both sides,

and terminated only when anarchism had lost all influence on the labor movement in the United States.

The manifold experiments, disappointments and struggles of the Socialist Labor Party, and the frequent changes of policy and methods of propaganda involved in or consequent upon them, could naturally not pass without effect on the relation of the members between themselves. Every new experiment gave rise to a heated controversy as to its expediency, every new failure was a fruitful source of discussion as to its causes, and the discussions were carried on with the earnestness characteristic of all adherents of a new faith or doctrine. At times these internal disputes filled the columns of the party papers for months and all other party work was temporarily lost sight of; at times the controversies were conducted with unnecessary bitterness and assumed a personal character; and at times the differences transcended the bounds of mere controversies and developed into splits, on several occasions rending the party in twain.

The assertion has, therefore, repeatedly been made, that the men of the Socialist Labor Party were a set of querulous individuals who wasted their time in mutual recriminations and accomplished little for their cause.

Nothing can be more unjust than this opinion.

When the founders of the Socialist Labor Party assumed the task of acclimatizing the socialist movement in this country, they undertook an enterprise of extraordinary difficulty and tremendous proportions.

For almost a full generation they plodded away at their self-imposed task in the face of adversities which have no parallel in the history of the socialist movement in any other country. Their internal strifes were but the natural echo of their great struggles with the hostile surroundings, and may easily be pardoned; and their courage, perseverance, and devotion to the cause can not fail to arouse our admiration.

In the socialist movement they performed a great mission. Through their trials and failures they evolved working

methods of socialist activity, and through their ceaseless agitation they prepared the ground for a genuine American movement of socialism.

The party had the misfortune of surviving the period of its usefulness, and its remnants brought in a shrill note of dissonance in the movement, but that does not alter the fact that the men of the Socialist Labor Party did the pioneer work of modern socialism in this country, and that the present socialist movement owes its existence largely to their efforts.

II.—CAREER OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

I. EARLY TRIUMPHS AND REVERSES

THE Socialist Labor Party commenced its career under rather favorable auspices. The extraordinary industrial activity which had developed after the close of the war was succeeded by the great financial panic of 1873. The acute stage of the panic subsided after a few months, but the financial depression continued for fully five years and caused an unprecedented degree of destitution among the population of the country. In the great industrial cities cases of death from starvation, not only of single individuals but of entire families, were reported by the police every week. During the winter of 1877, the police stations were filled every night with crowds of working men and their families seeking shelter from the cold of the streets, and the police courts were besieged by men, women, and children imploring to be committed to the workhouse. The number of the unemployed in the United States was estimated at no less than three millions. At the same time the wages of those who had employment were reduced from year to year, and in 1877 they were so low that the working men rebelled, and a series of strikes was inaugurated. The movement was quite spon-

taneous; it was an outbreak of despair rather than a planned and deliberate undertaking; the time was ill-chosen, the masses were unorganized and undisciplined, and the strikes were almost uniformly unsuccessful.

The most significant of the series of these strikes, in point of size and the bitterness with which it was fought, was that of the railway employees.

The construction of railroads had become a favorite form of investment and financial speculation immediately after the termination of the civil war. Between the years 1867 and 1877 about 25,000 miles of new railway tracks were laid, and in the latter year the railroads of the country were capitalized for about \$500,000,000. The roads were frequently built on the mere expectation of the future development of the country, and without reference to the actual requirement of traffic. When the panic of 1873 set in, the railroads, therefore, were more affected by it than any other industry, and the men to suffer most were the employees. Between 1873 and 1877 the wages of railroad workers were reduced by an average of about twenty-five per cent., and in June, 1877, the principal lines announced another reduction of ten per cent.

It was to resist this last reduction that the strike was inaugurated. The first clash occurred at Martinsburg, W. Va., on the 16th day of July, but the movement soon became general, and in less than two weeks it had spread over seventeen States.

The first men to quit work were the machinists and switchmen of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and they were immediately joined by the locomotive engineers and other employees of the line. The management of the road soon succeeded in filling the places of the strikers, but when the new men attempted to move the cars, they were prevented by force. Two companies of the state militia sent by the Governor were powerless to cope with the situation, and the regular troops to the number of 250, sent by President Hayes to the seat of the battle, had no better results.

No serious disorders, however, occurred in West Virginia, but in Maryland, where the strike had broken out at the same time, a company of militia was greeted by the strikers and the crowds of their sympathizers with hooting and shouts of derision, which soon turned into active attack. Missiles were hurled at the militiamen, who retorted by opening a fusillade on the crowd, killing ten men and wounding many more. The shooting precipitated a riot; the militia was overpowered, rails were torn out, and cars burned.

On the same day, July 19th, a series of disorders developed all along the system of the Pennsylvania Railroad. There the movement was inaugurated by the switchmen, who struck against the introduction of the "double-heading" system. In the course of the day the switchmen were joined by the employees of the road in all other branches of the service, and the strikers now demanded not only the abolition of the "double-heading" system, but also the recall of the last ten per cent. reduction of wages.

Toward the evening all freight traffic in Pittsburg was blocked. Large crowds of strikers paraded the streets of the city and were rapidly reenforced by the multitudes of the unemployed and dissatisfied labor population. The demeanor of the masses grew more threatening from hour to hour, the local militia which was called into requisition by the sheriff refused to interfere, and 600 militiamen were sent from Philadelphia. But the arrival of the latter only served to increase the excitement of the crowd. A brief but fierce battle between the hostile camps ensued, and the defeated militiamen retired to the company's engine-room, where they barricaded themselves against the onslaughts of the strikers. There they passed a very uncomfortable night amidst the threatening shouts of the infuriated mob and the sound of the bullets whizzing past the windows. Early on the next morning they left Pittsburg and never halted on their retreat until they had reached Claremont, a point about twelve miles distant from the city.

The crowds were now the undisputed masters of the situation and their long-pent-up hatred against the railroad company, intensified and inflamed by the recent battle with the militia, vented itself in a wild crusade of destruction of the company's property. One thousand six hundred cars and one hundred and twenty locomotives are said to have been demolished by them in one day.

Disorders of a more or less serious nature also occurred in different points of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and other States.

In Reading, Pa., a large force of the militia was ordered out to combat the strikers, but here something quite unexpected occurred.

Most of the companies were composed of working men, who openly fraternized with the strikers, distributed their munitions among them, and threatened to turn their arms against all hostile militiamen. One company, however, recruited almost exclusively from the possessing classes, and led by a reckless officer, opened fire on the crowd, killing thirteen persons and wounding twenty-two. The effect of this unjustifiable act was to arouse the strikers and their sympathizers to fury; the noisy but peaceful crowd turned into a wild and dangerous mob, freight trains were derailed, cars demolished, and bridges burned. The hostile militiamen were maltreated, and the majority of them managed to make their escape from the city only by changing their military uniforms for civil attire.

Most singular of all, however, were the occurrences at St. Louis. There the excitement communicated itself to all classes of the labor population. The traffic on the bridge between East and West St. Louis was stopped, and all communication between the Eastern and Western States was thus interrupted; the slaughter-houses and factories were closed, and the strikers took full possession of the city. The socialists called a mass-meeting which was attended by thousands, and at which an executive committee was elected to

protect the interests of the working men. Nobody ever knew who that executive committee really was. It seems to have been a rather loose body composed of whosoever chanced to come in and to take part in its deliberations. It had no definite plan of action and limited its activity to tying up all the industries of the city.

But such was the general excitement that the mysterious committee maintained the undisputed sway of the city for an entire week. Only when the general fear and excitement had somewhat subsided, the city administration, aided by the "leading citizens" of St. Louis, roused itself to some activity. A vigilance committee was formed in opposition to the executive committee, and finally the former, aided by the entire police force of the city and several companies of the militia, surrounded the headquarters of the executive committee at Shuler's Hall, and forced the rebels to capitulate. Seventy-five persons were arrested in the raid, but all of them had to be released, as they appeared to be mere idlers and curiosity seekers in no way connected with the insurrection. Of the much-feared "executive committee" no trace was found.

The socialists of the United States had no part in the instigation of the labor troubles of 1877, but, on the other hand, they did not neglect the excellent opportunity to propagate their theories among the excited masses. They did not overestimate the significance of the strikes, and realized at the very outset that the movement was but a passing phase in the struggle between capital and labor. They were opposed to unnecessary acts of violence, and at the numerous mass-meetings called by them, they dwelt almost uniformly on the futility of planless revolts, and the necessity of organized and intelligent action of the working class.

In Philadelphia the party decided to hold two mass-meetings "to discuss in a quiet and moderate manner the pending dispute between capital and labor, to express sympathy with

the strikers, but to declare energetically against any destruction of property."

The socialists in New Jersey held several mass-meetings in Newark and Paterson. In Brooklyn a mass-meeting of 2,000 working men, called by the local socialists, declared in favor of public ownership of railroads.

In New York large mass-meetings were held under the auspices of the party on Tompkins Square and in the Cooper Union Institute. At the former fully 12,000 persons congregated. John Swinton addressed the meeting in English, and Alexander Jonas and Otto Walther in German. A resolution of sympathy with the strikers was adopted, which wound up with the declaration that it had become necessary "to form a political party with a platform based upon the natural rights of the working men, and with the aim of enacting legislation against the monopolies which oppress the people."

In Chicago the strike agitation was conducted under the direct supervision of the party's National Executive Committee, which had been organized immediately after the unity convention of 1876. Chief among the Chicago agitators were the party's national secretary, Phillip Van Patten, the chairman of the city committee, Schilling, and A. R. Parsons.

But the activity of the party was by no means limited to its agitation during the strike. The many labor troubles and the general condition of popular destitution of the period had made the minds of the working class more receptive to the teachings of socialism than ever before, and the socialists sought to take advantage of the situation by every means at their command. In all great industrial centers demonstrations were arranged, proclamations were issued, street-corner meetings were held, and some of the most eloquent speakers of the party—McGuire, Parsons, Savary, and many others—undertook extended and systematic lecture tours through the country. Socialist newspapers appeared in all parts of

the United States and in many languages. Between 1876 and 1877 no less than twenty-four newspapers, directly or indirectly supporting the party, were established. Of these, eight were in the English language, among them one a daily, the *Star* in St. Louis, and seven weeklies; *The Labor Standard* in New York, the *Working-Men's Ballot* and *The Echo* in Boston, *The Social Democrat* in Milwaukee, the *Emancipator* in Cincinnati, *The Socialist* in Detroit, and *The Times* in Indianapolis. The German press was represented by fourteen newspapers, of which no less than seven were dailies—the *Chicago Sozialist* and *Chicago Volkszeitung* in Chicago, *Volksstimme des Westens* in St. Louis, *Die Neue Zeit* in Louisville, the *Philadelphia Tageblatt* in Philadelphia, the *Vorwaerts* in Newark, and the *Ohio Volkszeitung* in Cincinnati; one, the *Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*, appeared three times a week; and six—the *Arbeiterstimme* of New York, *Arbeiter von Ohio* and *Freiheitsbanner* of Cincinnati, *Neue Zeit* and *Vorbote* of Chicago, and *Vorwaerts* of Milwaukee—appeared weekly.

The Bohemians had a weekly under the title *Delnické Listy*, which was published in Cleveland, and the Scandinavian members of the party published a Swedish weekly in Chicago under the title *Den Nye Tid*.

The energetic activity of the party, aided by the favorable conditions of the time, bore good fruit; the organization grew rapidly in numbers and influence.

On the 26th day of December, 1877, the first national convention of the party was opened at Newark, N. J., thirty-one sections being represented by thirty-eight delegates. The seat of the national executive committee was transferred from Chicago to Cincinnati, and Van Patten was reelected national secretary. The main changes effected by the convention were those relating to political action. The Unity Convention of 1876 had considered the principal mission of the newly organized party to be one of education and propaganda, and its platform and constitution were framed in

accordance with that conception. The platform emphasized the superiority of the economic struggle over politics, the constitution contained no provisions as to the political action of the party or its subdivisions, and a separate resolution adopted on the subject expressly called "upon the members of the party, and all working men generally, for the time being to refrain from participation in elections, and to turn their backs upon the ballot-box."

But the situation had greatly changed since that time: the rapid growth of the party, and its unexpected success at the ballot-box, had demonstrated to the socialists the importance and possibilities of politics, and had created a reaction in favor of it. The party was reorganized on the basis of a political organization, and its platform and constitution were remodeled to meet the requirements of the new situation. It was this convention also which, as already stated, changed the party name from *WORKING-MEN'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES* to *SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY*

The growth of the party continued unabated all during the next year, and in the beginning of 1879 the party consisted of about one hundred separate "sections" in twenty-five different States, with a total enrolled membership of about 10,000. But at the same time another change in the industrial conditions of the country was already preparing. The period of industrial depression passed gradually away, and was succeeded by an era of prosperity. The works and factories of the country reopened their doors, new industries sprang up, the demand for labor increased, and wages rose. The general dissatisfaction which had made the working men so responsive to the appeals of socialism during the past two or three years rapidly subsided, and the socialist agitators found only scanty and indifferent audiences where they had formerly met enthusiastic throngs. "The plundered toilers are rapidly being drawn back to their old paths, and are closing their ears to the appeals of reason. They are selling their birthright for a mess of pottage by rejecting the pros-

pect of future emancipation in their greed for the trifling gains of the present," lamented Van Patten.

The party was young and inexperienced at that time, and its hold on its own membership was rather weak. With the returning wave of prosperity it disintegrated rapidly, and the efforts of its leaders to stem the tide of disorganization were of but little avail. Its membership fell off, its sections disbanded, and its press succumbed for lack of readers. Of the eight English party papers reported as existing at the Newark convention of 1877, not a single one survived in 1879. A new party organ in the English language, under the title of *The National Socialist*, was established in May, 1878, and was with great sacrifices kept alive a little over one year. Of the German papers the *Philadelphia Tageblatt* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and *Vorbote* of Chicago, were the only ones to survive the general wreck.

In the beginning of 1878 the party press received, however, a notable reenforcement by the establishment of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, a daily newspaper in the German language, devoted to the interests of the socialist and trade-union movement. The paper was edited with exceptional ability by a staff of the most efficient and experienced journalists in the American socialist movement, including in its numbers Alexander Jonas and Dr. Douai, who have already been mentioned on these pages, and S. E. Schewitsch, a Russian of noble birth, who had received his education in Germany and England, and was an eloquent speaker and brilliant writer. On the death of Dr. Douai, a more than competent substitute was found in the person of Herrman Schlueter, a veteran in the socialist movement of both hemispheres, who still stands at the head of the *Volkszeitung's* editorial management.

The *Volkszeitung* from the very day of its appearance assumed a position of leadership among the socialist press of this country, and it has maintained this position ever since. Its good judgment and deliberate attitude have helped the

party to sail safely through many a crisis in the early days of its career.

On the 26th day of December, 1879, the second national convention of the Socialist Labor Party was opened at Allegheny City, Pa. Twenty sections were represented by twenty-four delegates. The total number of members of the party was not officially stated at the convention, but it certainly was distressingly small. According to a subsequent report submitted by McGuire at the International Socialist Convention held at Chur, Switzerland, in 1881, it was about 2,600, and in the estimate of A. Strasser it was only 1,500.*

The report of the national secretary on the work of the executive committee and standing of the party was rather cheerless in tone. The convention decided to recommend that a daily socialist paper under the title *Union* be established in the city of New York; it divided the territory of the United States into four geographical "agitation districts" for the purpose of socialist propaganda, made some minor changes in the constitution, and devoted the greater part of its deliberations to the question of the participation of the party in the presidential election of 1880.

On the whole the Allegheny convention had accomplished but little toward raising the drooping spirit of the movement. Toward the end of 1880 and the beginning of 1881 the socialist movement received some reenforcement by the arrival of several parties of political refugees from Germany. These were mostly men who had been active in the social democratic movement in their fatherland, and who for that reason had been exiled by the German government during the crusade against socialists inaugurated by the anti-socialist laws of 1878. They were warmly welcomed by their comrades on this side of the ocean, and a number of public meetings were arranged for their reception.

In August, 1880, the Social Democratic Party of Germany,

*See "Sartorius von Waltershausen," p. 162.

at its convention held in Castle Wyden, decided to send a deputation to the United States for the purpose of informing the German-American working men of the condition of the party under the anti-socialist law, and collecting funds for the approaching elections to the German Diet. F. W. Fritsche and Louis Viereck, two socialist deputies to the German Imperial Diet, and popular speakers, were selected for that purpose, and they arrived in the United States in February, 1881. They were warmly welcomed not only by the party but also by a number of trade-unions and other labor organizations. They spoke at large mass-meetings before enthusiastic audiences in New York, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities. As a rule their meetings were made the occasion for the general propaganda of socialism, and addresses in the English language were frequently interspersed with their German speeches. Thus the agitation tour of the German deputies, altho undertaken for a different purpose, had the effect of reviving the local socialist movement.

But the revival was but temporary. As soon as the two German agitators left the shores of this country, the newly acquired members fell gradually off, and the party relapsed into its previous state of inaction. In December, 1881, the third convention of the party met in the city of New York; seventeen sections were represented by about twenty delegates, most of whom had come from New York and Brooklyn either as representatives of the local sections or as proxies for other sections. No business of importance was transacted, and the national secretary regretfully stated that the majority of the socialists in the United States were outside of the party.

The struggles of the Socialist Labor Party grew harder and harder: the social contentment and political indifference of the masses seemed impregnable, no new converts were made, while the old party members, growing disheartened, dropped out in large numbers.

What made the position of the party still more precarious, however, was the new and threatening apparition which at that period loomed upon the horizon of the American labor movement—the apparition of anarchism.

2. STRUGGLES WITH ANARCHISM

Socialism and anarchism proceed equally from a criticism of the present organization of society, and are in accord in condemning existing social and economic institutions.

But there the similarity between the two social theories ends; in all other respects they are diametrically opposed to each other.

Socialism implies the supremacy of the collective social body over the individual, while anarchism in its purest form signifies the complete emancipation of the individual from society. This fundamentally different conception of the respective rights and functions of society and the individual accounts for all differences in the social theories of the two schools.

The socialist regards society as an organic body, of which the individuals are but separate organs performing different functions for the organism as a whole, and in turn deriving their strength from the well-being of the entire organism. A healthy and well-regulated organism, social or biological, is one in which every organ attains the maximum of its normal individual development and fully performs all of its useful functions. On the other hand, where the functions of one or more organs are over-exercised while others remain inactive, the equilibrium of the organism is disturbed, and the organism itself becomes abnormal and diseased. The socialist finds fault with the present state of society inasmuch as it is characterized by the absence of a proper social equilibrium; his ideal of human civilization is the cooperative commonwealth—*i.e.*, that state of society in which social life and industry are organized on a rational and

scientific basis, exacting from each individual his proper share of usefulness in his own sphere, and guaranteeing to each an equal opportunity to develop all of his faculties.

The anarchist, on the other hand, considers society as a mere inorganic aggregation of independent individuals. He sees the highest state of development in the absolute sovereignty of the individual, and considers all social restraints upon the absolute and untrammelled personal liberty as injurious and reactionary elements in human civilization. He regards the State as an arbitrary contrivance to curb the individual liberty of the citizen, and abhors all government and laws as so many unnecessary checks upon the free exercise of the individual will and whim. The anarchist finds fault with the present state of society, not because it is insufficiently organized for the general public welfare, but because it is too much organized. His ideal state is one consisting of a multitude of autonomous groups of individuals freely and loosely organized for the purpose of production and exchange, somewhat on the line of the Fourieristic Phalanxes. The anarchist is opposed to a systematic regulation of production and industry, he relies on the natural results of the free play of demand and supply. He is opposed to all forms of administration and social restrictions, his faith in the inherent goodness of human nature is unlimited, and he confidently predicts that all crime will disappear and that proper relations of man to man will be established automatically as soon as the present artificial social and governmental institutions will be abolished. The anarchist abhors majority rule as the worst form of tyranny, and points to the fact that the most useful innovations in the history of our race have as a rule been introduced after hard battle with the majority.

And the opposite tactics and methods of procedure of socialism and anarchism are but the results of the practical application of their antagonistic social philosophies.

Conceiving society as an organic body, the socialist recognizes that its development is gradual and subject to

certain sociological laws. He does not admit the possibility of a radical social transformation unless the same was prepared by a series of social and industrial evolutions and a corresponding gradual change in the social and political views of men. It is the system, not the individuals, that he combats. His hope of social regeneration is based upon the tendencies of development of modern industry as he sees them, and he expects the realization of his ideal to be brought about by the concerted efforts of the greater portion of the population. He believes the working class will be the prime factor in the social transformation, for the reason that the benefits of such transformation appeal more directly to the interests of that class, and hence his energies are bent upon the work of preparing the working men for the rôle to be played by them.

He seeks to develop the consciousness of their class interests by the oral and written propaganda of the views and theories of socialism. In the industrial organizations and struggles of the working men he sees the symptoms of an incipient discontent with the evils of the present industrial system, he encourages them, and seeks to imbue them with the spirit and philosophy of socialism. In politics the socialist perceives a powerful agent for the molding, expressing, and enforcing of popular views and demands, and hence he advocates political action of the working class on socialist lines. The watchwords of socialism are education and organization, and its weapons the propaganda, cooperation with the trade-unions, and the ballot-box.

From the point of view of the revolutionary anarchist philosophy, however, these methods of procedure are altogether unnecessarily tedious and slow. Not recognizing the organic character of human society, the anarchist denies the gradual and logical course of its development. The world is ready for the most radical revolutions at all times, and all that is required for their successful accomplishment is a handful of determined men, ready to jeopardize their lives for the welfare

of the oppressed population. And it matters little that the daring revolutionists may not have the support or sympathy of the majority of the population: the great majority of the population never knows its own interests, and appreciates a brave and noble deed only after it has been successfully performed. All great revolutions, argue the anarchists, have been accomplished by small minorities, and all great public benefits have been forced upon mankind.

Consistently with these views the anarchists reject political action as a useless farce, and deprecate all efforts of trade-unions and socialists to ameliorate the present condition of the working class as reactionary measures, retarding the revolution by smothering the dissatisfaction of the workers with their present conditions. Their efforts are directed toward sowing the seed of revolt among the poor, and carrying on a personal war with those whom they regard as responsible for all social injustice, the high and mighty of all nations. Their weapons are the "propaganda of the word" and the "propaganda of the deed."

Anarchism is thus the extreme but logical deduction of the individualist philosophy of the French and English schools. The theories of Herbert Spencer and those of John Most differ but in degree, but not in quality.

The first man to formulate the theory of modern anarchism was the French reformer and economist, P. J. Proudhon, whose work, "*Qu'est-ce que la Propriété*," published in 1840, contained the first allusions to the new social theory, and who developed his system of anarchism more minutely in his principal work, "*Système des Contradictions Économiques*."*

The system was somewhat modified and popularized by Michael Bakounin, whose name we had occasion to mention in connection with the history of the International, and in recent days its chief apostles have been Prince Kropotkin and John Most. Each of these men has added something

* See G. Plechanow, "*Anarchismus und Sozialismus*," Berlin, 1894.

to the theory, and has in turn been called "the father of anarchism." Altho the fundamental premises of all of these authors are identical, the conclusions drawn by them from the premises vary indefinitely, and it has frequently been said that there are as many anarchistic systems as there are anarchistic authors. The latest contribution to these systems is the theory of "anarchistic communism," a rather awkward attempt to combine the principle of extreme individualism with that of collectivism.

Under the influence of Bakounin's agitation, anarchism at one time gained considerable ground in France, Spain, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland; in Germany it was but little known, as it is generally a noteworthy fact that anarchism thrives least where the socialist movement is strongest.

In the United States the first symptoms of anarchism manifested themselves at about the same time that the Socialist Labor Party showed the first signs of decline. Already at the Allegheny convention of 1879 a division between the moderate and more radical elements of the party was noticed. Shortly before, the socialists of Chicago and Cincinnati had organized some military organizations of working men under the name of "Educational and Defensive Societies" (Lehr und Wehr Vereine). The national executive committee of the party was opposed to these organizations, on the ground that they tended to create a false impression of the aims and character of the socialist movement. "As they carried the red flag and acknowledged their socialistic tendencies, the public were informed that the socialists were determined to accomplish by force what they could not obtain by the ballot," Van Patten reported to the convention. The national executive committee publicly disavowed any connection with the military organizations, and requested all party members to withdraw from them.

The sponsors of the military labor organizations resented this interference of the executive committee, and when the convention assembled they moved for a vote of censure

against the latter. The motion was adopted by a small majority after a heated debate.

On the whole, however, the convention was dominated by the moderate rather than by the radical elements, and the latter soon developed an open dissatisfaction with the party administration. In November, 1880, a number of members of the New York sections* of the party left the organization and formed a Revolutionary Club, which adopted a platform modeled in the main after the Gotha program of the German Social Democracy, but was interspersed with some violent anarchistic phrases. The leading spirit of the movement was Wilhelm Hasselmann, an old Lassallean, and former deputy to the Imperial German Diet, who had once played a prominent part in the socialist movement of his fatherland, and who had then shortly arrived in New York. Other prominent men in the new movement were Justus Schwab and M. Bachmann. Similar revolutionary clubs soon sprang up in Boston, Philadelphia, and Milwaukee. But of the greatest significance were the Chicago clubs, of which Paul Grottkau, August Spies, and R. Parsons were the leading members.

In October, 1881, a national convention of the revolutionary clubs was held in Chicago, and the "Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party" was organized by them.

The character of the new movement was as yet rather indefinite; it vacillated between socialism of a more radical color and outspoken anarchism, it lacked a leader of sufficient strength and influence to direct it into definite channels. That leader was soon found in the person of John Most.

John Most was born at Augsburg, Germany, in 1846, as the son of a poor subaltern officer. A sickness of five years' duration, an operation which left his face deformed forever, a cruel stepmother, and later on a still more cruel employer to whom he was apprenticed, are the cheerless events which

*The local branches or subdivisions of the Socialist Labor Party were styled "sections."

filled out the childhood of the future apostle of anarchism. He received a very scanty school education, but he read a good deal, and as a young man he traveled extensively through Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland. In the latter country he came in contact with the International, whose theories he eagerly adopted, and he has ever since been active in the International revolutionary movement.

In the summer of 1869 he was sentenced to one month imprisonment for an inciting speech delivered by him in Vienna. The next year he participated in the organization of a large popular demonstration for the freedom of speech, press, and assembly, was arrested on the charge of high treason, found guilty and sentenced to state prison for a term of five years. After a few months, however, he was pardoned, and after a few months more he was expelled from Austria. During the seven years following, he took a leading part in the socialist movement of Germany, and in 1874, and again in 1877, he was elected to the Diet to represent the District of Chemnitz. During that time he served two terms of imprisonment, both times for riotous speeches, and in 1878, immediately after the enactment of the anti-socialist laws, he was expelled from Berlin. Most now settled in London, where he began the publication of a weekly magazine under the title *Freiheit* (Freedom). It was at that time also that he commenced to depart gradually from the principles of social democracy, inclining more and more toward revolutionary anarchism.

On the occasion of the assassination of Alexander II. by the Russian Nihilists in 1881, Most published an article in his *Freiheit* glorifying the deed and calling for its emulation by others. For this article he was tried by the English courts and sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for sixteen months. It was shortly after he had served out this sentence that Most landed in New York.

For the members of the revolutionary clubs, or the "Social Revolutionists," as they styled themselves, Most was no

mean acquisition. A forceful and popular speaker, a brilliant journalist, and a "martyr" to the cause, he was the ideal man to gather the disheartened and demoralized elements in the socialist movement of America under the banner of revolt and destruction.

The great mass-meeting arranged for his reception in the large hall of the Cooper Union Institute in December, 1882, turned into a veritable ovation for the "victim of *bourgeois* justice," and his tour of propaganda through the principal cities of the country in the early part of 1883 resembled a triumphal procession. His meetings were well attended and enthusiastic, they were extensively commented on by the press, and a number of anarchistic "groups" were organized as a result of his agitation.

In October, 1883, a joint convention of the social revolutionists and anarchists was held in Pittsburg. The convention was attended by representatives from twenty-six cities, Most, Spies, and Parsons being among the delegates. Letters of congratulation and encouragement were received from many parts of the United States, and from anarchistic groups in France, England, Mexico, Italy, Spain, and Holland. The convention created a national organization of all social-revolutionary and anarchistic groups under the name "International Working People's Association." The administration of the groups remained autonomous, and a general "Information Bureau" for the purpose of communication between the groups, but without executive powers, was established with headquarters in Chicago.

The principal work of the convention was, however, the adoption of a declaration of principles which has since become famous as the "Pittsburg Proclamation," and which is still regarded as the classic exposition of "communistic anarchism."

This declaration of principles is, like the theory of communistic anarchism itself, a rather peculiar mixture of many not always very consistent elements.

The Declaration of Independence is curiously interspersed with the conflicting theories of Marx and Proudhon, and the philosophy of the French encyclopædists of the eighteenth century. The object of the movement is stated to be "the destruction of the existing class government by all means, *i.e.*, by energetic, implacable, revolutionary, and international action," and the establishment of a system of industry based on "the free exchange of equivalent products between the producing organizations themselves and without the intervention of middlemen and profit-making."

The Pittsburg convention and the repeated lecture tours of Most and other prominent anarchists had their effect.

Anarchism became a power in the radical circles of the labor movement of the United States, especially in the German-speaking part of it. The "groups" multiplied from year to year, and their membership increased steadily. The *Freiheit* gained in circulation, some of the former socialist papers, such as the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Vorbote*, deserted the socialist camp and joined the anarchist movement, and some new anarchist organs were established.

The growth of the anarchist movement served to deplete the weakened ranks of the Socialist Labor Party still more. Disheartened by their recent failures in politics, and despairing of the final success of the slow methods of socialist propaganda, many members lent a willing ear to the convenient anarchist theories of general negation, and section after section seceded from the party to join fortunes with the Internationalists.

In 1883 the membership of the Socialist Labor Party had shrunk to about 1,500, and its leaders were forced to concentrate their energies on an effort to prevent further inroads.

A spirited controversy ensued between the *Freiheit* and the *Bulletin*, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. The controversy was conducted with a great deal of earnestness on the part of the latter, and with considerable wit and skill by the former. On the whole, it may be said that if

the *Freiheit* did not always have the best of the argument, it mostly had the laugh on its side, and was generally the more successful combatant.

Defeated in this struggle and disheartened by the general run of things in the party, Philip Van Patten, who had been its national secretary over six years, abandoned the fight in despair. On the 22d day of April, 1883, he suddenly disappeared, announcing his intention to commit suicide in a letter left behind him. It subsequently developed, however, that the letter was but a stratagem calculated to divert the attention of his former comrades from his trail: in reality Van Patten had sought and found a more peaceful and remunerative existence in the employ of the Government. The loss of Van Patten at that juncture was a hard blow to the organized socialist movement of this country. Van Patten was an American of good family, with an excellent education, and had been active and prominent in the socialist movement for ten years without interruption. He was a man of much enthusiasm and devotion, but by no means a strong and popular leader. It was not so much the loss of his personality as the moral effect of his retreat that reflected a deep discouragement on the socialist movement. Van Patten was succeeded in the office of national secretary by one Schneider, and when the latter resigned in October, 1883, Hugo Vogt was elected to fill the vacancy until the next convention of the party, which was decided to be held in December.

When the Pittsburg convention of the social revolutionists was held earlier in the year, the Socialist Labor Party had been invited to send delegates to it, but the national executive committee declined the invitation, declaring that there could be no common ground between social democrats and anarchists.

The "proclamation" adopted at Pittsburg, however, was much more moderate than was expected, and seemed to afford some ground for united action. The International

Working-People's Association created by the Pittsburg convention was not as yet a purely anarchistic body, but rather a confederation of radical socialist and revolutionary organizations of all shades. As soon as the results of the deliberations of the convention were published, voices for union with the new body were raised in the Socialist Labor Party, and now that the party was thoroughly disorganized, the clamor for union became general. In December, 1883, some prominent members of the Socialist Labor Party took it upon themselves to propose formally a consolidation of the party with the Internationalists. This was done by means of a written communication addressed to the Chicago "groups," and signed by Alexander Jonas, Henry Emrich, George Lehr, and H. Molkenbuhr. The brunt of the writer's argument was the wisdom of united action and the similarity of views of the two organizations. "Reading the Proclamation of the Internationalists as adopted at the Pittsburg convention," they declared, "we can hardly find anything in it with which the Socialist Labor Party has not always agreed, except perhaps some obscure clauses of a reactionary coloring."

The answer came from A. Spies, writing in behalf of the Chicago "groups." It expressed anything but enthusiasm over the proposed union, and in substance advised the Socialist Labor Party to dissolve into autonomous groups to be affiliated with the International Working-People's Association in the same manner as the other groups of that body. It was under these circumstances that the fourth national convention of the Socialist Labor Party met at Baltimore from December 26 to 28, 1883.

It was the most dismal convention ever held by the party. Only sixteen delegates attended, and of these, four came from Baltimore and ten from New York and vicinity.

The convention made some changes in the platform and constitution of the party, with the apparent view of placating the more radical elements in the movement. The office of

national secretary was abolished, the powers of the national executive committee were curtailed, and the sections were given greater autonomy in the administration of their own affairs. In addition to the party platform, the convention, following the Pittsburg precedent, adopted a "proclamation." The document was more radical in tone than any previous pronunciamientos of the party: politics were recommended as a means of propaganda only, and the conviction was expressed that the privileged classes would never surrender their privileges without being compelled to do so *by force*. Having made these concessions to the "social revolutionists," the convention proceeded to define its attitude toward outspoken anarchism in very unambiguous language.

"We do not share the folly of the men who consider dynamite bombs as the best means of agitation," the delegates declared; "we know full well that a revolution must take place in the heads and in the industrial life of men before the working class can achieve lasting success."

The principal significance of the convention lay in the fact that it drew a sharp line of demarkation between socialism and anarchism. The somewhat vague species of "social revolutionism" rapidly disappeared; the more moderate elements of the movement, such as Paul Grottkau, rejoined the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and the extremists cast their lot definitely with the anarchists.

Henceforward all attempts at conciliation were given up as useless, and there was nothing but war between the two hostile camps.

The socialist as well as the anarchist papers of that period are filled with controversial articles on the merits and demerits of the theories and practise of the two contending social movements, and public discussions on the subject were frequent and heated.

The most notable of these discussions was the one conducted between Paul Grottkau and John Most at Chicago, on the 24th day of May, 1884. It was a well-matched con-

test, the opponents being equally well versed in the subject of discussion, and both being fluent speakers and ready debaters. The discussion was very thoroughgoing and dealt with almost every phase of the subject. It was reported stenographically, published in book form,* and widely circulated.

Of considerable benefit to the party were also the lecture tours of Alexander Jonas, F. Seubert, H. Walther, and O. Reimer, undertaken at about the same time. The tours were arranged by the party's executive committee, and the special mission of the lecturers was to combat anarchism. The speakers visited the most important centers of the anarchist movement, addressed public meetings as well as some meetings of social revolutionary clubs, exposing the weak points of anarchism, and urging the party members to new activity. Simultaneously with this oral propaganda, the agitation against anarchism was vigorously conducted by tracts and leaflets published under the supervision of the national executive committee, and distributed in many thousand copies.

But the activity of the party at that period was by no means limited to the struggle with anarchism. A systematic campaign of education was conducted, principally through the medium of socialist tracts and pamphlets, of which no less than 160,000 were disposed of during the years 1884 and 1885.

The result of this renewed activity was a steady growth of the Socialist Labor Party. In March, 1884, the party consisted of about thirty sections; during the two years following the number was doubled. Three party papers in the English language—*The Voice of the People* in New York, the *Evening Telegram* in New Haven, and the *San Francisco Truth* in San Francisco—had been established at different times, but all were compelled to suspend publication after a

* "Discussion über das Thema 'Anarchismus oder Communismus,' geführt von Paul Grottkau und Joh. Most," Chicago, 1884.

brief trial. Of the German party papers, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and the *Philadelphia Tageblatt* were the only ones to survive, and the *Sozialist*, a weekly magazine in the German language, was created as the official organ of the party under the editorial management of Joseph Dietzgen. On the 5th day of October, 1885, the fifth national convention of the Socialist Labor Party met at Cincinnati. Forty-two sections were represented by thirty-three delegates. The principal work of the convention was to regulate the workings of the party and to strengthen its organization.

The Socialist Labor Party had now somewhat recuperated from the onslaughts of anarchism, but it had by no means vanquished the foe. On the contrary, the International Working-People's Association had during the last two years gained more in proportion than the Socialist Labor Party. In the year 1885 the International embraced about eighty organized groups, with a total of 7,000 enrolled members, and its press was represented by seven German, two English, and two Bohemian papers.

3. THE CHICAGO DRAMA

The main strength of the anarchist movement lay in Chicago, in which the "Information Bureau" was located, and in which the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the *Vorbote*, and the *Fackel*, as well as the English *Alarm*, edited by Parsons, were published. There were toward the end of 1885 no less than twenty groups, with a membership of about 3,000, in Chicago and vicinity.

What made the ground especially favorable for the propaganda of anarchism at that time was the new industrial crisis which set in about 1884 and lasted until 1886. As in 1877, the large industrial cities of the country were again filled with throngs of destitute and embittered working men out of employment, and these supplied eager and appreciative audiences for the apostles of violence.

And here again Chicago was in the lead. The Internationalists of that city held numerous mass-meetings, a great street demonstration was arranged by them on Thanksgiving Day of 1884, and the *Freiheit*, the *Alarm*, and other anarchist papers counseled their adherents to arm themselves, and even published minute instructions for the preparation and use of dynamite. Similar instructions were contained in a pamphlet written by Most at that time, under the title "Revolutionary Science of War," which was reprinted by several anarchist papers and had a pretty extensive circulation. The climax of the agitation, however, was reached in 1886.

In 1884 the annual convention of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America had decided to revive the movement for an eight-hour work-day, and later the first day of May, 1886, was fixed as the day on which the new system should be inaugurated. As the ominous day approached, the movement gained in width and determination. The trade-unions of the country doubled and trebled their membership, eight-hour leagues were formed, and the subject was warmly agitated in public meetings and in the labor press.

In Chicago the excitement ran highest. In 1885 the "Eight-Hour Association of Chicago" was organized on the initiative of George A. Schilling and others, the Trade and Labor Assembly, the principal central body of organized labor in Chicago, immediately fell in line, the Central Labor Union, a smaller body dominated by anarchist influence, followed, and the movement soon became general.

The Internationalists of Chicago were at first quite indifferent to the movement, and even deprecated it as a compromise with capital and as a hopeless and useless battle. But when the eight-hour movement assumed larger proportions and became the all-absorbing topic in labor circles, the anarchists gradually changed their position, and ultimately supported it. Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab, and other

anarchist orators became the most popular speakers at eight-hour meetings, and at such meetings, as well as in their press, the anarchists frequently took occasion to advise the working men to provide themselves with arms on the first day of May. The first serious trouble occurred among the striking employees of the McCormick Reaper Works. These had been "locked out" from the works in February, and the battle between employers and employees was fought with unusual bitterness, which was still more intensified by the fact that the McCormicks had hired no less than 300 armed Pinkerton detectives to protect the strike breakers in their employ. On the third day of May the Lumber Shovers' Union, of which the majority of the locked-out McCormick employees were members, held a mass-meeting in the vicinity of the works to discuss the terms of a peace proposal to be submitted to the employers. Spies was addressing the meeting with "unusual calmness and moderation," as he relates in his autobiography, when the bell of the McCormick factory rang and the "scabs" were seen leaving. An excited crowd of about 150, separating itself from the meeting, made a move toward them. A street battle ensued, stones being liberally thrown on each side. The police were telephoned for, and a patrol-wagon filled with policemen immediately rattled up the street. A few minutes later about seventy-five policemen followed the patrol-wagon on foot, and these were again followed by three or four more patrol-wagons. The police were received with stones, and in turn opened fire on the crowd, shooting indiscriminately on men, women, and children, killing six and wounding many more. Frantic and infuriated beyond measure over this act of brutality, Spies hurried back to the office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and there composed the proclamation to the working men of Chicago which has since become famous as the "Revenge Circular."

It was headed "REVENGE!" and called upon the working men to arm themselves and to avenge the "brutal murder"

of their brethren. Five thousand copies of the circular were printed in English and German, and distributed in the streets. On the next evening a mass-meeting was called to be held at the Haymarket for the purpose of "branding the murder of our fellow workers." About 2,000 working men responded to the call, and Spies, Parsons, and Fielden spoke. Mayor Carter H. Harrison of Chicago, apprehending trouble, was present at the meeting, and what occurred was subsequently described by him in the following language:

"With the exception of a portion in the earlier part of Mr. Spies' address, which for probably a minute was such that I feared it was leading up to a point where I should disperse the meeting, it was such that I remarked to Captain Bonfield that it was tame. The portion of Mr. Parsons' speech attracting most attention was the statistics as to the amount of returns given to labor from capital, and showing, if I remember rightly now, that capital got eighty-five per cent. and labor fifteen per cent. It was what I should call a violent political harangue against capital. I went back to the station and said to Bonfield that I thought the speeches were about over; that nothing had occurred yet or was likely to occur to require interference, and I thought he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home."

Mayor Harrison left at about ten o'clock, and the meeting was then practically concluded. At least two-thirds of the audience had dispersed in view of the heavy clouds which had gathered up foreshadowing a rainstorm. Fielden addressed the remaining crowd, a very few hundred in number. He had spoken about ten minutes, when 176 policemen suddenly marched upon the little crowd in double-quick step. Captain Ward, in charge of the squad, commanded the meeting to disperse, and Fielden retorted that the meeting was a peaceable one. At this juncture a dynamite bomb was thrown from an adjoining alley; it alighted between the first and second companies of the policemen and exploded with a terrible detonation, killing one policeman and wounding many

more. Instantly an indiscriminate firing was opened on both sides, which lasted about two minutes without interruption; when it was all over it appeared that seven policemen had been killed and about sixty wounded, while on the side of the working men four were killed and about fifty wounded.

Who threw the bomb which precipitated the riot? The question has never been satisfactorily answered. One Rudolph Schnaubelt, a brother-in-law of Michael Schwab, is commonly credited with the fatal deed, but Schnaubelt fled immediately after the Haymarket tragedy, and through the anarchistic press of Europe he has repeatedly denied any connection with the act. The opinion was also frequently expressed that the bomb was thrown as an act of personal vengeance by some relative or friend of a victim of the police brutalities perpetrated on the preceding day, and there were not wanting even those who believed that the dastardly act had been committed by an "agent provocateur" at the behest of the police or capitalists in order to break up the eight-hour agitation, which had just then assumed very powerful proportions.

But be this as it may, the Haymarket incident was laid at the door of the anarchists, and popular indignation against them and their agitation knew no bounds. The daily press loudly clamored for the hanging of the leading anarchists, all labor meetings were broken up, and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was placed under the censorship of the chief of police. The speakers at the Haymarket meeting and the entire editorial board and staff of compositors of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* were immediately placed under arrest. Parsons, who could not be found by the police, surrendered himself voluntarily on the trial. On the 17th day of May the grand jury convened and found an indictment against August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar W. Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and William Seliger, charging them with the murder of M. J. Degan, the policeman who was killed by the fateful bomb.

Of these, Schnaubelt made his escape, Seliger turned State's evidence and was granted immunity, the other eight were placed on trial.

The men thus singled out were not only the backbone of the local anarchistic movement, but they were also among the most prominent and influential leaders in the eight-hour agitation, and generally popular in the labor movement of Chicago.

August Spies was at that time thirty-one years of age. He was born in Germany and emigrated to the United States in 1872. In 1877 he joined the Socialist Labor Party. He became business manager, then editor-in-chief of the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and retained the latter position until the day of his arrest. Upon the advent of the "social revolutionary" clubs, he joined the movement and later became an avowed anarchist. His anarchism, however, was of a rather mild and philosophical type. He was a Marxian student, spoke and wrote English and German with equal fluency, and was by all odds the most cultured and intellectual of the defendants.

Albert R. Parsons was born at Montgomery, Ala., in 1844. At the age of fifteen he learned the trade of typesetting. He fought in the civil war on the Confederate side, but in 1868 he published a newspaper for the defense of the rights of the colored race, and thereby incurred the enmity of his relatives. In 1875 he joined the Social Democratic Party, and one year later he organized the Chicago Trade Assembly of the Knights of Labor. He was one of the first to join the "social revolutionary" movement in 1880, and since 1884 he edited the ultra-anarchistic *Alarm*. He was an eloquent and magnetic speaker and talented organizer, and between 1875 and 1886 he is said to have addressed no less than 1,000 mass-meetings and to have traveled over sixteen States as organizer for the Socialist Labor Party, and later for the International Working-People's Association.

Michael Schwab was a man of smaller caliber than either

Spies or Parsons. He was a German of good education, thirty-three years old, and at the time of his arrest had been eight years in the United States. He was associated with Spies on the editorial staff of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and was a lucid tho not original writer and a fluent speaker. His influence in the labor movement was due principally to his great earnestness and unbounded devotion to the cause of the working class.

George Engel was the oldest of the defendants. He was born in 1836 in Kassel, Germany. A life of hardship and privation had early matured in him the spirit of bitterness. His hatred of existing society was more a personal sentiment than the result of any social philosophy. He joined the anarchistic movement upon the first signs of its appearance in the United States, and had been one of its extremest and most earnest devotees ever since.

Louis Lingg was but twenty-two years old. He was a passionate and enthusiastic fanatic and an untiring worker for the cause of anarchy.

Samuel Fielden was born in England in 1847. He was successively a weaver, a lay Methodist preacher, and a driver. His knowledge of socialism and anarchism he gathered mostly from newspaper articles and public discussions. His speeches were direct, somewhat abrupt, passionate, and eloquent, and he was a great favorite with the masses.

Adolph Fischer was but two years older than Lingg. He was born in Germany, but emigrated to the United States at the age of fifteen. His education in socialism he received from his parents. He turned anarchist a few years before his arrest, and was one of the most indefatigable workers of the movement.

Oscar Neebe was born in New York in 1849. He settled in Chicago in 1866, and since that time was identified with almost every phase of the labor movement. He was a delegate to the National Labor-Union, and later he joined first the Socialist Labor Party and then the International

Working-People's Association. He was never very prominent in the anarchistic propaganda, but was always active in the trade-union movement, and took a leading part in the eight-hour agitation of 1886.

The trial of the eight men commenced on the 21st day of June, 1886. It was presided over by Judge Joseph E. Gary, and lasted forty-nine days. The defendants were not charged with any personal participation in the act of killing Degan. The theory of the prosecution was that they had by speech and print advised large classes of the people to commit murder, and that in consequence of that advice somebody not known had thrown the bomb that caused Degan's death.

The trial of the anarchists has frequently been called a farce by many impartial observers who were in no way connected with the anarchist movement, and it is hard to read the records of the case without coming to the conclusion that it was the grossest travesty on justice ever perpetrated in an American court. The jury was not drawn in the customary way, but Judge Gary appointed one Henry L. Ryse as a special bailiff to go out and summon such jurors as he might select. Out of a panel of about 1,000 only five were working men, and these were promptly excused by the State. The remainder were employers of labor, or men dependent on such. Most of them declared that they had a prejudice against anarchists and a preconceived opinion of the guilt of the defendants, but upon their statement that they believed their prejudice could be overcome by strong proof of innocence, the judge ruled that they were qualified to serve as jurors. The most important witnesses for the State were Seliger, who had betrayed his comrades for a promise of immunity, and a number of detectives and newspaper reporters, many of whom contradicted themselves on the trial to such an extent as to render their testimony of no value. With all that, the prosecution did not succeed in establishing the most vital point of their theory—*i.e.*, that the person who threw the bomb did so upon the advice, directly

or indirectly, of any of the defendants, or that he was in any way influenced by their teachings. Since the identity of the direct culprit was unknown, his acts could, of course, not be brought into any connection with the defendants.

But the most revolting feature of the trial was the partial manner in which it was conducted by the judge: not only did he rule all contested points in favor of the prosecution, but his repeated insinuating remarks made within the hearing of the jury were of such a nature that they could not fail to influence the latter against the defendants. In vain did Spies and Fielden disclaim any connection with the tragedy; in vain did Parsons show that he did not anticipate any violence at the meeting, since he had permitted his wife and children to accompany him to the same; in vain did Fischer and Engel show that they were quietly at home playing cards while the Haymarket meeting took place; in vain did Schwab, Lingg, and Neebe prove that they had not been at the Haymarket meeting, and that they did not know of the preparations for it; and in vain did their attorney, Captain Black, demonstrate that the State's case was built up on perjured testimony. The Haymarket affair was but a pretext. What the defendants were really tried for was not the murder of Degan, but their anarchist views. They were bound to be convicted, and convicted they were. On the 20th day of August the jury brought in the following verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendants, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Scwhab, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in the manner and form charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant, Oscar W. Neebe, guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

Upon an appeal taken to the Supreme Court of the State the judgment was affirmed, and the further appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was dismissed on the

ground that the court had no jurisdiction in the matter. The only other recourse left was a petition to the governor for executive clemency. Some of the condemned men adopted this course, with the result that the sentences of Schwab and Fielden were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg committed suicide in his cell by exploding a cartridge in his mouth. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged on the 11th day of November, 1887. They died bravely. "The time will come when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches," declared Spies as the noose was placed about his neck. Parsons' last words were: "Let the voice of the people be heard," and Fischer's dying statement as he ascended the scaffold with elastic step and radiant face was: "This is the happiest moment of my life." Six years later John P. Altgeld, then recently elected governor of Illinois, granted an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab, accompanying the pardon by a thoroughgoing analysis of the trial before Judge Gary, and a scathing arraignment of the unfair and partial methods of the judge.

4. PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

The Chicago incident was practically the closing chapter in the history of the anarchist movement in this country. While the anarchists disclaimed responsibility for the particular act of throwing the fatal bomb, it could not be denied that the act was in accord with the methods of violence advocated by them. The Haymarket tragedy and its direful consequences were a concrete illustration of anarchism reduced to practise, and had a sobering effect on its adherents and sympathizers.

Whatever little support organized labor had heretofore given to the movement was rapidly withdrawn, and anarchism was henceforward confined to a few insignificant "groups" in the East with little power or influence.

The coast was once more clear for the propaganda of socialism, and the socialists were not slow to take advantage of the favorable situation.

The work of reviving the socialist movement was begun in earnest, and was greatly facilitated by the great industrial and political struggles which marked the labor movement of that period.

The Socialist Labor Party gained in membership and strength. New party papers were established, new "sections" organized, and extensive lecture tours were arranged. Of the latter the most noteworthy were those undertaken by Wilhelm Liebknecht, the veteran leader of the German Social Democracy, in conjunction with Eleanor Marx Aveling, the eloquent and brilliant daughter of Karl Marx, and her husband, Dr. Edward Aveling. This tour was arranged by the Socialist Labor Party in the fall of 1886. The lecturers addressed about fifty meetings in all principal cities of the Union, Liebknecht speaking in German and the Avelings in English. Their work had a marked effect on the socialist movement of this country.

In the month of September, 1887, the sixth national convention of the Socialist Labor Party was held at Buffalo, N. Y. The convention was attended by thirty-seven delegates, representing thirty-two sections, but the full number of party sections was reported to be about seventy.

The most interesting feature of the convention was the discussion on the question of the proposed unity between the Socialist Labor Party and the International Working-Men's Association.

The International Working-Men's Association (not to be confounded with the "International Working-People's Association," created at Pittsburg in 1883) was organized in the latter part of 1881. It was composed principally of American working men and farmers, and had its main strength on the Pacific coast. The social views and principles of the

organization were a somewhat curious mixture of anarchism and socialism.

With the anarchist these Internationalists discarded the ballot. "We believe,"* they declared, "that if universal suffrage had been capable of emancipating the working people from the rule of the loafing class, it would have been taken away from them before now, and we have no faith in the ballot as a means of righting the wrongs under which the masses groan."

But they differed from the revolutionary anarchists inasmuch as they discountenanced methods of violence and laid greater stress on education and propaganda.

Their aims and objects were stated by them to be: "To print, publish, and circulate labor literature; to hold mass-meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyceums for discussing social science; to maintain the labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations, etc." The Association was organized on the "group" system. Its principal organ was *Truth*, published in San Francisco under the editorial management of Burnette G. Haskell. It was established as a weekly in 1882; in the beginning of 1884 it was converted into a monthly magazine, and toward the end of the same year it suspended publication for lack of subscribers. *Truth* was succeeded by the *Labor Enquirer*, published in Denver.

In 1887 the International Working-Men's Association claimed an enrolled membership of about 6,000, distributed in the following manner: In Washington Territory and Oregon, about 2,000; in California, 1,800; in Colorado, Utah, Montana, Dakota, and Wyoming, about 2,000; and about 200 members scattered in the South and East.

Mr. Haskell, who conducted the negotiations in behalf of the Association, made several demands upon the Socialist Labor Party as conditions precedent to the unification of

* R. T. Ely, "The Labor Movement in America."

the two organizations, the most important of these being that the party change its name to "Socialist League" or "Socialist Association"; that it declare against political action; that it devote less means to the support of the socialist movement in Germany and more to the propaganda at home; that it admit the Chicago anarchists to membership, and continue the publication of the *Labor Enquirer*.

After a somewhat lengthy discussion on the subject, the following resolution was adopted by the convention:

"Whereas, A friendly offer of union with our party has been received from the Denver Socialist League;

"Resolved, That we, in the spirit of fraternity, reciprocate the offer and welcome the outstretched hand; and

"Whereas, The platform and principles of the Socialist Labor Party are acknowledged to be complete, comprehensive, and satisfactory to our brothers of the International Working-Men's Association and the Socialist Leagues connected therewith;

"Resolved, That said platform be the basis of the union.

"Whereas, Many other socialist organizations in Chicago and other places in the Middle and Western States are believers in our platform and principles, tho still isolated;

"Resolved, That we shall welcome them, with our comrades of the Socialist League, to our party upon a formal acceptance of our platform under the provisions of our constitution, to the end that the socialist agitation and propaganda may be made the more effective, and our common cause may finally triumph."

No formal union was thus accomplished, and the International Working-Men's Association soon disbanded.

Next to the matter of unity the larger portion of the convention's deliberations was occupied with the question of political action. The views of the delegates were divided on the question of continuing to cooperate with the various political labor parties then in the field, entering the political arena independently, or abstaining from politics altogether.

A temporary compromise was finally effected by the adoption of a resolution recommending to the members "wherever one or more labor parties are in the field to support that party which is the most progressive."

But the adoption of the resolution by no means disposed of the controversy, and the disappointing experience of the socialists with the several "Progressive" or "Radical" labor parties in the ensuing elections accentuated the difference of views. The New York *Volkszeitung* and its adherents held that socialist politics were as yet premature, and advised the party to concentrate its attention on the trade-union movement, while the official party organs, *The Workmen's Advocate* and *Der Sozialist*, were enthusiastic advocates of independent socialist politics, and rather inclined to underrate the importance of socialist activity in the trade-unions.

The antagonism between the two camps grew more pronounced within the next two years, and finally developed into open hostilities. The *Volkszeitung* was charged by the party officers with disloyalty, and it retorted by styling the national executive committee an incompetent clique. In this controversy the bulk of the membership of "Section New York," which had elected the members of the national committee and had the right to recall them, sided with the *Volkszeitung*. In the month of September, 1889, the section preferred charges of incompetency against the national officers of the party, and called a meeting for the purpose of investigating into the charges. The meeting deposed the national secretary, W. L. Rosenberg, and the members of the national committee—Hinze, Sauter, and Gericke—and elected in their place S. E. Schewitsch, Otto Reiner, C. Ibsen, and R. Praast. This summary action precipitated a crisis within the party organization. The deposed officers refused to recognize the validity of the procedure by which they had been removed from office. They continued to assert their rights as the national committee of the party,

and called a convention, to be held by the end of the same month in the city of Chicago.

In the mean while the new national committee entered on the discharge of its duties.

The "sections" were pretty evenly divided in their allegiance between the two committees, and in the ensuing chaos the control committee of the party, with headquarters at Philadelphia, stepped in, suspending both contesting committees from office and taking temporary charge of the administration of the party affairs.

The control committee postponed the date of the convention to October 12th, and this date was accepted by the *Volkszeitung* wing of the party, while the Rosenberg faction adhered to the date originally fixed by the deposed committee. Thus two separate conventions were held by the party sections, each claiming to represent the regular organization and decrying the other as bogus.

The convention of the Rosenberg faction was but poorly attended, and the majority of the delegates were "proxies." The organization led a rather precarious existence for several years longer. Efforts were repeatedly made to reunite the two factions, but no union was accomplished, and the Rosenberg faction, or "Social Democratic Federation," as it styled itself in later years, gradually disappeared.

In the mean while the *Volkszeitung* faction held its convention in Chicago in October, 1889. Thirty-three sections were represented by twenty-seven delegates. Notwithstanding the recent split within the party, the proceedings of the convention were marked by a spirit of confidence and hopefulness. The most important work was the adoption of a new platform drafted by Lucien Sanial. While all previous platforms of the party had consisted of a concise and unimpassioned exposition of the abstract principles of modern socialism, the platform of 1889 was more of a campaign document, and was given a national coloring by basing its arguments on the Declaration of Independence. This docu-

ment was readopted with insignificant modification at every succeeding convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and is still in force. (See Appendix II.)

The next convention of the party was held in Chicago in July, 1893, and was attended by forty-two delegates. It was at that convention that the demand for the abolition of the office of President of the United States was struck from the platform.

The progress of the party was now undisturbed and steady for a number of years. In 1889 the number of "sections" was reported to be seventy. During the four years following 113 new sections were organized; of these, forty-three were German, thirty-nine American, fourteen Jewish, and the remainder were made up of Poles, Bohemians, Frenchmen, Italians, and other nationalities. The sections were distributed in twenty-one States. Many of the newly organized sections disbanded, but others were organized in their stead, and on the whole their number increased. In 1896 the national secretary reported the existence of over 200 sections in twenty-five States. In that year the ninth national convention of the Socialist Labor Party was held in the city of New York. It commenced its labors on the 4th day of July, and remained in session seven full days. Ninety-four delegates were present, representing seventy-five sections in twelve States.

The proceedings of the convention were unusually animated, and covered a wide range of subjects. The most significant and fateful act of the delegates was the attitude assumed by them toward the trade-union movement. The subject was brought up by the introduction of a resolution to indorse the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance which had then recently been called into existence by some prominent party leaders in opposition to the American Federation of Labor and the Order of the Knights of Labor. The debate on the subject occupied the convention during several consecutive sessions, and at times grew exceedingly intense. A

resolution condemning the existing trade organizations as hopelessly corrupt and commending the organization of the Alliance was finally adopted by a vote of seventy-one to six.

Thus the Socialist Labor Party for the first time in the history of its existence declared war on the existing national bodies of organized labor.

This was a radical departure from the established policy of the party toward the trade-union movement. How fateful this new policy became to the organization the following chapters will show.

During the three succeeding years the number of sections increased to over 350, the operations of the party extended over thirty States, and the party press received several notable additions and gained in circulation.

In 1899 the Socialist Labor Party had reached the zenith of its power.

III.—THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN POLITICS

I. INDEPENDENT POLITICS

THE Socialist Labor Party, or the Working-Men's Party of the United States, as the organization was named during the first year of its existence, was primarily organized for propaganda only. On the question of the party's attitude toward participation in politics, the Philadelphia Unity Convention adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, The economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated;

"Whereas, The Working-Men's Party conducts its struggles primarily on the economic field;

"Whereas, It is only the economic struggle in which the soldiers for the Working-Men's Party can be trained;

"Whereas, The ballot-box has in this country long ceased to be the expression of the popular will, but has rather be-

come an instrument for its subversion in the hands of the professional politicians;

“*Whereas*, The organized working men are as yet by no means strong enough to root out this corruption:

“*Whereas*, This *bourgeois* republic has produced a multitude of middle-class reformers and quacks, and the penetration of these elements into the party will be largely facilitated by a political movement;

“*Whereas*, The corruption of the ballot-box and the reform humbug reach their highest bloom in the years of presidential elections, and the dangers for the Working-Men’s Party are accordingly greatest in these years;

“For these reasons the Unity Convention of the Working-Men’s Party, in session at Philadelphia on the 22d day of July, 1876, *resolves*:

“The sections of this party and all working men generally are earnestly requested for the time being to abstain from all political movements, and to turn their backs upon the ballot-box.

“The working men will thereby spare themselves many disappointments, and they can devote their time and energies with much more profit to the organizations of the working men, which are frequently injured and destroyed by premature action.

“Let us bide our time! It will come!”

It will be readily seen from the wording of the resolution that the party’s abstention from active participation in politics was a measure of necessity rather than a matter of choice, and the reasons for that attitude may be easily traced in the condition of the party and the political situation of the time. In 1876 the Working-Men’s Party consisted of about 2,500 to 3,000 enrolled members all told, and the overwhelming majority of these were Germans. The party had just been created by the union of several not quite homogeneous elements, its organization was loose, its means scanty, and its influence insignificant. Under these circumstances

an independent national campaign was, of course, not to be thought of. And the prospects of fusion with any existing reform party were by no means more seductive: the only party which could lay claim to that title in the elections of 1876 was the Greenback Party, and this was very insignificant, and the issues presented by it were not of a nature to appeal to the labor interests. Abstention from politics was, therefore, the only course left open to the new party.

But the following year wrought many significant changes in the condition of the party. The industrial depression and the great railway strikes described in a preceding chapter had brought the social questions to the front. The ranks of the party were swelled, and many of the new converts were American working men. The popular sentiment was favorable to radical and reform politics, and the Socialist Labor Party was not slow in following up its advantage.

From 1877 till 1879, during which time the labor excitements continued, the party conducted many spirited campaigns in state and local elections, and in some of its strongholds it met with considerable success. In the city of Chicago about 7,000 votes were cast for the Socialist Labor Party in the fall of 1877, and in the spring of the following year one of its members, F. Straubert, was elected to the Common Council. In the fall of 1878 the Chicago socialists elected three State Representatives—C. Ehrhardt, C. Meier, and Leo Meilbeck, and one State Senator, Sylvester Artley. These introduced in the legislature some bills providing for the cash payment of wages, for the limitation of the hours of labor for women and children, an employers' liability act, and several similar bills, all of which were promptly defeated. They did, however, succeed in inducing the legislature to establish a bureau of labor statistics. In the spring of 1878 four socialists—Altpeter, Lorenz, Meier, and Straubert—were elected aldermen. In these elections the Socialist Labor Party ticket was headed by Dr. Ernst Schmidt, as candidate for the office of Mayor. Dr. Schmidt

was a popular and influential German physician, a noted Marxian scholar, and a steadfast friend of the cause of labor. He received over 12,000 votes.

In Cincinnati the Socialist Labor Party polled 9,000 votes in the fall elections of 1877, and in Cleveland it received 3,000 votes. In St. Louis the party received 7,000 votes at the same time, and elected five members of the school board and two aldermen.

In New York a state ticket was nominated in the fall of 1879, with Caleb Pink as the candidate for Governor and Osborne Ward as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. The ticket was supported by the sections of the party in New York, Brooklyn, Albany, Troy, Utica, Syracuse, and Buffalo, but the state organization was extremely weak on the whole, and the total vote did not reach 10,000.

Candidates were also nominated by the party in Detroit, Boston, New Orleans, and Denver. The party organizations in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, and Kentucky took no part in the political campaigns of that period, and in St. Louis and in a few other places the socialists occasionally cooperated with the Greenbackers.

In California the organized working men, under the leadership of the eloquent agitator, Denis Kearney, had organized for political action as the "Working-Men's Party of California," and the Socialist Labor Party refrained from nominating candidates of its own, "deeming it unwise and imprudent to divide the forces of the labor movement."*

The party as a whole did not participate in any national

*The Kearney agitation forms one of the most picturesque pages in the history of the American labor movement. In 1877 the State of California presented a most critical economic and political situation. The waves of the great industrial depression which had struck the East in 1873 reached the Pacific coast much later, and its effects were still felt very keenly in 1877. The crisis was rendered still more acute by the wild stock speculations in which almost all social strata in California had engaged during the preceding years. Business was practically suspended. Mines, factories, and shops were closed, and

election, and its total voting strength at the period under consideration is, therefore, largely a matter of conjecture: it has been variously estimated between 50,000 and 100,000.

whatever little work there was was done principally by Chinese, who were at all times ready to work for half of the customary wages.

The needs and sufferings of the population were intense, and the notoriously corrupt and incompetent State officials showed themselves unable or unwilling to devise any efficient measures of relief. The army of unemployed working men in California, and particularly in the city of San Francisco, swelled on to tremendous proportions. Their discontent with the existing state of affairs grew louder and louder, and finally it found expression in the formation of the "Working-Men's Party of California." The leading spirit of the party was Denis Kearney, a man of but little education and powers of reasoning, but endowed with the gift of popular oratory and possessed of indefatigable energy. Under the leadership of Kearney the party soon became a power in local politics. Its open-air meetings on the "Sand Lots" of San Francisco were attended by thousands of enthusiastic listeners, its agitation became the all-absorbing topic of discussion in the press, its adherents grew daily, and when the city elections in San Francisco arrived the party carried the majority of offices. It was the Working-Men's Party of California also which, by its votes, decided that a new State constitution should be framed, and when the Constitutional Convention assembled in 1879 the party exercised a controlling influence in the framing of the document.

The new State constitution of California introduced a number of radical reforms intended for the purification of the State administration, legislature, and judiciary; the curbing of the powers of corporate capital, and the abolition of Chinese labor. This instrument for a time occasioned a good deal of fear among the possessing classes, but subsequent events proved the apprehension quite unfounded.

The Kearney movement was but the expression of a vague and unenlightened discontent. It was not based on any definite social theory; it offered no constructive measures; its battle-cry was: "Down with the rich!" and its platform was: "The Chinese must go!" The movement lasted as long as the industrial crisis continued, and as soon as the first signs of returning prosperity appeared, it collapsed, leaving little, if any, traces behind it. The Working-Men's Party of California disbanded, and the new State constitution, which was its principal achievement, was so circumvented by succeeding legislatures and so "construed" and "trimmed" by the courts as to render it quite insignificant.

This was certainly a promising beginning, considering the extraordinary difficulties with which the young organization had to cope, and enthusiasm ran high in the ranks of organized socialists in the United States.

But the following year by no means justified the enthusiastic expectations. The returning prosperity of the country cut off the ground from the socialist agitation, which had just commenced to gain a foothold among the American working men. The Socialist Labor Party lost rapidly in membership and strength, and when the presidential elections of 1880 drew nearer, the party was in not much better condition to meet it than it had been in the previous election of 1876. "It is to be regretted," said Van Patten in his official report to the Allegheny convention of the party (December 26, 1876, to January 1, 1880), "that our party has lost valuable opportunities offered during the past two years, but which could not be properly grasped, as our own organization had not the experience and confidence necessary to control the vast numbers of discontented workmen who were ready to be organized. It is especially to be regretted that we had not secured the election of at least a dozen representatives in the legislature of every Northern State, since a party which has elected a number of representatives is considered tolerably permanent, while one who has not, is regarded by the public as transient and uncertain."

The same report recommended participation in the approaching presidential election, and this recommendation was the subject of the most heated discussions of the convention.

With very few exceptions the delegates were agreed upon the advisability of taking part in the election, but the controversy turned on the question of entering the campaign independently or in conjunction with other reform parties.

The national executive committee suggested that the party might unite on a ticket with the Working-Men's Party of Cali-

fornia, the Greenback Party, and the Liberal Party, which last organization had recently been called into existence by the Liberal League, and had held a convention at Cincinnati in September, 1879, at which a semi-socialist platform was adopted. The suggestion was received with favor by a number of delegates—Parsons and McGuire among them—but was strenuously opposed by others. Upon a vote the motion to fuse with other reform parties was defeated by a narrow margin, and the convention decided to make independent nominations for the offices of President and Vice-President.

Caleb Pink, of New York, O. A. Bishop, of Illinois, and Osborne Ward, of New York, were placed in nomination. Of the twenty-four delegates present, nine abstained from voting, ten voted for Pink, four for Bishop, and one for Ward. Caleb Pink was thereupon declared the choice of the convention.

At a later stage of the proceedings, however, the vote whereby Pink was nominated was reconsidered, and a resolution adopted to the effect that the names of all three candidates be submitted to a general vote of the party members, the person receiving the highest vote to be the party's candidate for President, and the one receiving the next highest vote to be its candidate for Vice-President. This resolution changed the entire situation. The proposition to nominate independent candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President was rejected *in toto* by the party, and in the elections of 1880 the Socialist Labor Party supported the candidates of the Greenback Party.

2. THE GREENBACK PARTY

The Greenback movement was the immediate result of the financial crisis of 1873. It was the first and rather uncouth expression of popular protest against the aggressions of money capital, and took the shape of a currency-reform movement.

It was claimed that the bankers and bondholders of the country had conspired: to depreciate the war greenbacks by depriving them of their character of legal-tender for customs and for the payment of the national debt; then to buy United States bonds with such depreciated greenbacks; and finally to induce the Government to redeem the same bonds in gold. A popular agitation against this alleged conspiracy sprang up, and the movement finally crystallized in the formation of the Greenback Party.

The first convention of the party was held in Indianapolis in 1874, and a platform was adopted demanding several currency reforms, chief among which were:

1. The withdrawal of national bank-notes.
2. That the only currency should be paper, and that such currency be exchangeable for United States interest-bearing bonds.
3. That coin be used only for the payment of such bonds as called expressly for payment in coin.*

These demands appealed principally to the farmers and small business men who had mortgages and other debts to pay, and the movement was for a long time confined to those classes. The industrial laborers manifested but little interest in it.

In 1876 the party nominated the well-known New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, for President of the United States, and Samuel F. Cory, of Ohio, for Vice-President. The ticket received little over 80,000 votes.

The movement was almost exploded, when the great strikes and labor agitation of 1877 brought new life into it and gave it an entirely new turn. The financial issues were relegated to the background, and the demands of labor took their place. In 1878 the national convention of the party, held at Toledo, Ohio, was attended by a number of labor leaders, and the party name was changed to "Greenback Labor Party."

* See article on "The Greenback Party" in the "Encyclopedia of Social Reforms," by Wm. D. P. Bliss, New York, 1898.

The movement gained popularity among the industrial workers in the East, and in the ensuing congressional elections the party polled about 1,000,000 votes and elected fourteen representatives to Congress. In the presidential elections of 1880 the Greenback Labor Party nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, as its candidates for President and Vice-President. But the popular excitement had already subsided, and the Greenback vote sank to 300,000. Henceforward the party was declining steadily. The last national ticket nominated by it was that of 1884, when Gen. B. F. Butler, ex-congressman and ex-governor of Massachusetts, who had in turn been Democratic, Republican, and labor politician, was its candidate for President. Butler also received the indorsement of the anti-monopolists, and polled a vote of about 175,000. After that election the Greenbackers drifted gradually into the ranks of the old parties and ceased to exist as an independent political factor.

As long as the Greenback Party had limited its agitation to currency reform, the Socialist Labor Party strenuously discountenanced all political alliances with it, but since 1878, when it came in closer touch with the labor movement, the party's attitude toward it was more friendly. As shown in the preceding chapter, some sections of the party had supported the Greenbackers in the elections of 1878 and 1879, but this support was given unofficially, and was tolerated, but not encouraged, by the party administration. It was only in 1880 that the Socialist Labor Party, as such, officially decided to support the Greenback Party. As soon as the decision was reached, the national executive committee of the party issued a call to all of its sections and to all trade-unions in sympathy with it to send delegates to a conference to be held in Chicago on August 8, 1880. The national nominating convention of the Greenback Labor Party was to be held in the same city on the 9th day of August, and it was understood that the conference of August 8th would prac-

tically be a caucus meeting of the socialist elements expected to attend the Greenback convention. About ninety delegates responded to the call. Of these, more than half were Chicago residents who had received credentials as proxies from various minor sections, and thirty-eight were direct representatives of their respective sections. Among the latter were Philip Van Patten, the party's secretary; Dr. Douai, P. J. McGuire, R. Parsons, Mrs. L. Parsons, T. J. Morgan, and other prominent members of the Socialist Labor Party.

In the socialist caucus it was decided to apply for admission to the Greenback convention as a body, and to vote as a unit on all questions. It was further resolved that the party insist upon the admission of twenty to fifty delegates from its midst, and upon the appointment of seven socialists on the platform committee.

Dr. Douai, as the spokesman of the caucus, presented these demands to the convention "in behalf of 100,000 voters represented by the Socialist Labor Party."

The demands were substantially conceded; the socialists were given the required representation on the platform committee and were allowed forty-four votes on the floor of the convention. At a later stage of the proceedings, however, a ruling was made all that votes be taken by States, to which ruling the socialists refused to submit, and during the remainder of the convention they abstained from voting altogether.

The main work of the socialists in the convention was in connection with the drafting of the platform. They strove to bring the views expressed in that document as close to their conception of social evolution and the class struggle as possible. But they had an extremely hard task. The Greenback convention was composed of many heterogeneous reform elements with many incongruous social views; the currency reformer, the land reformer, the anti-monopolist, the Chinese-exclusion advocate, and the pure and simple trade-unionist were all represented. Each of them demanded

recognition of his special hobby in the platform, and in most instances the demands were acceded to with little regard to the unity and consistency of the document as a whole. The influence of the socialist thought is unmistakable in the opening clauses of the platform, which were as follows:

“Civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort and the facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence.

“Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, and the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.”

It was also on motion of the socialist Morgan that the convention, after much discussion, adopted a plank calling for the collective ownership of the land.

On the whole, however, the socialists were not well satisfied with the platform and management of the Greenback Party, and participated in its presidential campaign in a half-hearted way.

Immediately after the campaign the alliance with the Greenbackers was dissolved, never to be renewed again, except in a few isolated instances.

In the elections of 1881 the socialists took no part. “A socialist campaign in this country is useless,” argued the New York *Volkszeitung*, “unless the American vote can be reached by it. But as the party is constituted at present, it can only reach the German working men.” The *Volkszeitung*, therefore, advised the party members to concen-

trate their efforts on the establishment of an English socialist daily newspaper.

The disorganized state of the socialist movement during the years following, and the all-absorbing struggles with anarchism, made it impossible for the party to conduct a systematic political campaign, and only local candidates were occasionally nominated by way of exception. Thus the party invariably nominated a candidate for Assembly in the Tenth Assembly District of New York, which during these years uniformly cast from 700 to 1,000 socialist votes.

In the presidential elections of 1884 the Socialist Labor Party nominated no candidates, and supported none of those nominated by the other parties. The continued abstention from voting and the seemingly hopeless condition of American politics had made the party skeptical as to the efficacy of the ballot-box, and the following correspondence, published in the *Zurich Social Democrat* on November 14, 1884,* is probably a correct expression of the contemporaneous attitude of the socialists on the subject:

"Our comrades in America have taken no part in the elections, but have proclaimed abstention from voting. Both great political parties, the Republican and the Democratic, are capitalistic. The struggle against corruption was a war cry in which the socialists would surely have joined, but the men who first sounded it were of such quality that the incorrigible skeptics doubted their ability and even their desire to clean out the Augean stables. The third party, composed of former Greenbackers and others, with General Butler at the head, our party could also not support, because the society was a rather promiscuous one, and General Butler, a skilful demagog but by no means a reliable customer. To enter into the campaign independently, our party was too weak, and, what is still more important, it was of the opinion that the presidential elections are nowadays but a humbug and cannot be anything else."

* Reprinted in Waterhausen's "Moderner Sozialismus," p. 268.

It was only in 1886 that the Socialist Labor Party was roused from its political lethargy. The intense labor excitements of that year, engendered by a long period of industrial depression and the struggles for an eight-hour work-day, assumed the form of a political movement in many important places.

In Chicago a "United Labor Party" was organized on the initiative of the Central Labor Union. The party was composed of members of the American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor, radical elements of all kinds, socialists, and even anarchists. It cast over 20,000 votes for its county ticket in the fall of 1886, and in the following spring elections it mustered no less than 28,000 votes for its candidate for Mayor.

In Wisconsin a "Union Labor Party" was organized by the Knights of Labor in conjunction with the remnants of the Greenback Party. The movement was strongly supported by the local socialists, and obtained some practical results in the city of Milwaukee.

In Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, and Colorado similar parties were organized. The parties were composed principally of trade-unionists, Knights of Labor, and Greenbackers; and in New York, New Jersey, Missouri, and Ohio the socialists also supported the movement. The parties were known in different places as "United Labor Party," "Union Labor Party," "Industrial Labor Party," "Labor Reform Party," or simply "Labor Party." They reached their highest bloom in the fall elections of 1886, when several of their local tickets were elected; the next year witnessed a rapid decline of the movement, and in 1888 very few of them survived. By far the most important political campaign of that period conducted by organized labor was that of the City of New York.

Here the Central Labor Union inaugurated a movement for independent political action of the working men in the

early part of the summer of 1886. On the 5th day of July of that year a conference of representatives of labor organizations was held in Clarendon Hall for the purpose of launching the movement. Over 300 delegates were present, and on a vote being taken, 286 of these declared themselves emphatically in favor of nominating an independent labor ticket in the ensuing mayoralty campaign, and only forty opposed the plan. Several more conferences were held, and the movement grew in strength and enthusiasm from week to week. A municipal platform was adopted, and a permanent party organization was created under the name of "United Labor Party" of New York. On the 2d day of September, 1886, a city convention of the party was held in Clarendon Hall, and amid deafening cheers and shouts of enthusiasm the convention nominated as its candidate for Mayor and standard bearer of the young movement—Henry George.

3. THE HENRY GEORGE MOVEMENT

Henry George was born in Philadelphia in 1839. He finished his school education at the age of thirteen, worked a short time as office boy, then went to sea, visiting many parts of the world. At the age of sixteen he returned to Philadelphia and learned the trade of typesetting, but following his irrepressible love for travel, he soon enlisted again on shipboard, went to Calcutta, and thence to San Francisco, where he finally settled.

In San Francisco he worked successively as compositor and reporter, and in 1871 he was one of the founders and part owners of the San Francisco *Evening Post*. It was at this time that George became interested in the study of social problems. In 1871 he published his first work, "Our Land and Land Policy," which attracted but scanty attention. But an altogether different reception was accorded to his second work, published eight years later under the title "Progress and Poverty."

As intimated by the rather striking title, the work is devoted to an inquiry into the causes of the persistence of popular poverty amid advancing wealth. Our present era, argues George, has been marked by a prodigious development of wealth-producing power. It should have been expected that the increase of general wealth and material comfort would benefit humanity as a whole; that poverty would vanish; that all vices and crimes engendered by it would disappear, and that a state of general social happiness and contentment would ensue. But instead of it we see that the increased blessings of civilization are being enjoyed by a comparatively small number of men, while the greater part of the population still succumbs to poverty, and destitution is most appalling where luxury is greatest. There is evidently some factor in our system of wealth production and distribution, concludes the author, which associates poverty with the progress of our civilization. What is that factor? Henry George finds it to be the private ownership of land, *i.e.*, all "natural opportunities," such as soil, mines, rights of way, etc., exclusive of the improvements connected therewith. There can be no right to property in land, he declares. Man has a right to the possession of the products of his labor. A man who makes a coat, builds a house, or constructs a machine, has an exclusive right of ownership in it. But who made the earth, and what man can claim the right to give or sell it? The value of land has no reference to the cost of production or the labor expended on it. The value of the labor expended on it is the value of the improvement, but the value of land as land depends on natural causes, such as fertility; or social causes, such as the agglomeration of a vast number of people in a certain area. Justice, therefore, requires that the land and the increase of its value be the common heritage of the whole nation. But, instead, it is being monopolized by a small class of landowners, who appropriate all the benefits of it, and tax a high rent for its use and occupation. This system makes it possible for a

number of men to hold large areas of land for speculative purposes, thus withdrawing it from actual use. And as land is in the last analysis the source of all wealth, the withholding of any part of it results in the curtailment of wealth production for the nation.

Furthermore, so long as land is free to all, everybody can gain his subsistence by agriculture or by industrial pursuits on a small scale, but so soon as land becomes private property, it is only the man who can afford to pay a high rent—the capitalist—who can engage in any industry, while the poor man is compelled to sell his labor for the best price obtainable.

And, lastly, rent being an arbitrary tax on production, it draws from the profits of capital and wages of labor alike, impoverishes both, gives rise to industrial crises, and produces an unjust distribution of wealth which is building up immense fortunes in the hands of a few while the masses grow relatively poorer and poorer.

“Nothing short of making land common property can permanently relieve poverty,” concludes George.

This object, however, the author desires to attain gradually by means of an increasing tax on land values, so that the tax shall ultimately equal the full rental value of the land, with the result that, tho the title to it would still be nominally in the individual owner, all income from it would go to the State.

George proposes to abolish all taxes save this tax on land value, and his theory hence assumed the designation of the “Single-Tax” theory.

To understand the great influence of the work it must be borne in mind that it appeared at a time when social problems and land-reform theories were warmly agitated. The fascinating style in which the book was written and the tone of self-assurance and sincerity of conviction with which the novel and bold conclusions of the author were announced, contributed largely to its success. It was one of the popu-

lar books which, like popular leaders, appear occasionally as the embodiment of a vague public sentiment, and give color and direction to that sentiment.

The book engendered a spontaneous enthusiasm, it was printed in many editions, translated into many languages, and became the universal topic of discussion in labor circles and scientific publications. The obscure Western journalist all of a sudden became one of the most famous men of his day. His name became a household word in all parts of the United States. He gained thousands of ardent disciples in this country as well as on the continent of Europe, and numerous "land and labor" clubs were organized for the purpose of propagating his theories. George was an eloquent and convincing speaker, and the extensive lecture tours arranged for him in the principal cities of the United States, as well as in Ireland and England, served to enhance his popularity still more.

Such was the man whom the working people of New York chose for their leader in the municipal campaign of 1886.

George did not accept the nomination without attaching a rather unusual condition to it. He demanded that his constituents obtain the signatures of at least 30,000 citizens and residents of the City of New York to a statement that they desired his nomination and would vote for him. This, he explained, would accomplish two purposes: It would demonstrate that there was a popular demand for his candidacy, and would show to the indifferent that he had good chances of being elected, so that they could vote for him without fear of "throwing away" their votes. The extraordinary condition did not impair the enthusiasm of the movement by any means. On the contrary, it instigated the working men to greater activity. Within a very short time more than the required number of signatures were obtained, and the campaign was under full steam. Meetings were held by the score, campaign literature was distributed broadcast, and when, toward the end of September, a street demonstration

was arranged, no less than 35,000 people marched in line enthusiastically shouting the name of Henry George under the loud applause of the sympathetic crowds of bystanders.

In October the United Labor Party established *The Leader*, a daily newspaper published in the interest of the Henry George campaign. It was a four-page paper, sold at one cent, and soon reached a circulation of 100,000.

The movement assumed such proportions that the old parties took alarm at it and sought to offset the popularity of George by nominating the strongest available candidates at the head of their tickets. The Democrats nominated the noted philanthropist and son-in-law of Peter Cooper, Abram S. Hewitt, while the Republicans nominated the present chief executive of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, then a young and promising politician.

The day of election was one of great excitement for the City of New York, and when the vote was finally counted it was found that George had received over 68,000 votes to about 90,000 cast for Hewitt and 60,000 for Roosevelt.* Thus closed the most memorable political campaign ever conducted by the working men of New York.

The socialists were at no time in sympathy with Henry George as the apostle of a new social creed. While they agreed with him on the criticism of the present system of wealth production and distribution, they differed widely from him in the analysis of the causes of the evil and the remedy proposed.

The single-taxer regards land-ownership as one of the most fundamental factors in our industrial life; the socialist considers modern factory production the dominant feature of

* The supporters of Henry George contended that the latter had actually been elected Mayor by the popular vote and that he had been "counted out." Certainly this belief formed a main incentive to George and his followers in causing them subsequently to agitate for the introduction of the Australian secret-ballot system in the State of New York, a reform which has been accomplished in various phases, not only in that State, but throughout the Union.

present civilization. The single-taxer recognizes but one form of economic exploitation—rent, *i.e.*, the return made for the use of land; the socialist asserts that “surplus value,” *i.e.*, the unpaid part of the working man’s labor, is the source of all exploitation, and that it is from this “surplus value” that rent as well as interest and profit are drawn. The single-taxer thus consistently sees the root of all social and economic evils of our civilization in the private ownership of land—in which term he includes all franchises and special privileges in the use of land—while the socialist opposes the private ownership of *all* means of production, machinery, etc., as well as land as above defined.

The single-taxer would abolish the landlord and monopolist of “land values,” but continue the existence of the capitalist and wage-worker; the socialist strives to wipe out all class distinction and to introduce complete economic equality. The single-tax theory professes to be an absolute and scientific truth applicable to all ages and conditions alike, while socialism claims to be a theory growing out of modern economic conditions, and expecting its realization from the steadily growing concentration and socialization of industry. The single-taxer, lastly, is an earnest supporter of the competitive system of industry, while the socialist is as ardent a collectivist.

Thus the two social theories differ very materially in their views, aims, and methods.

The socialists of New York never attempted to conciliate or minimize this difference. They supported the Henry George movement solely for the reason that they saw in it a movement of labor against capital, and they indorsed the candidacy of Henry George “not on account of his single-tax theory, but in spite of it,” as the *Volkszeitung* put it.

Nor did Henry George and his most prominent supporters feel any friendlier toward the socialists. The platform of the United Labor Party as originally drafted consisted substantially of the so-called “immediate demands” of the So-

cialist Labor Party, and wound up by the classic declaration of the Communist Manifesto that "the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by the working class itself;" but as soon as George accepted the nomination, the platform was replaced by a document of an entirely different tenor, based in the main on the land theory of Henry George, and demanding various land, currency, and tax reforms, along with some factory and labor legislation.

During the campaign the antagonism between the two camps was carefully repressed by both sides, but as soon as the election was over, it broke out into open hostility.

The war was first carried on on purely theoretical grounds: the socialist press combated the single-tax theory as such, while George retorted in kind by criticizing the theories of socialism in his *Standard*.

But when the campaign of 1887 drew nearer, the controversy gradually assumed a more practical aspect, and finally it came to an open clash within the organization. The immediate pretext for it was the interpretation of Article I, Section 2, of the constitution of the United Labor Party, which required the members of the organization to sever their connections with other political parties. On a previous occasion the New York County executive committee had decided that the section had no application to the Socialist Labor Party, since the latter was not a political party in the accepted sense of the term; but when the County general committee met on August 4, 1887, the point was raised again, and the previous decision was reversed, thus virtually expelling the members of the Socialist Labor Party. The decision precipitated a general commotion in the organization. Several Assembly Districts protested against the ruling and demanded its rescission, others approved of it, and in a few instances the question produced schisms in the district organizations.

It was under these circumstances that the state convention of the United Labor Party assembled at Syracuse on

the 17th day of August. It was expected that the convention would deal with the status of the socialists in the party, and both sides were represented in full array. Out of the 169 delegates who presented credentials, twenty-six were avowed socialists, while many more were in sympathy with them. The Eighth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Assembly Districts of New York were each represented by two rival delegations, one elected by the socialist elements within the organization, the other by the anti-socialists, and the debate arose on the question of the regularity of the contesting delegations. In the ensuing discussion great latitude was allowed, and all phases of socialism were drawn into the debate.

Socialism was warmly defended by S. E. Schewitsch, Walter Vrooman, Lawrence Gronlund, Hugo Vogt, Col. R. J. Hinton, and others, while the campaign against it was led by Henry George himself, who was ably seconded by McGlynn, McMackin, and others. The discussion lasted about eighteen hours, and when a vote was finally taken, it was found that the socialists were barred from the convention by a large majority.

The convention thereupon nominated a state ticket, headed by Henry George as candidate for the office of Secretary of State, adopted a platform, and adjourned.

The expulsion of the socialists from the United Labor Party had the effect of weakening the organization to a great extent. The socialists had been energetic and devoted workers in the movement, and much of the success of the campaign of 1886 had been due to their activity.

Besides, the labor excitement of 1886 was greatly allayed, the eight-hour day agitation relaxed its intensity, and the working men gradually lost interest in their political organization.

The United Labor Party was on the decline, and its dissolution was accelerated by the strife among the leaders. In the contest between George and McGlynn for the

supremacy within the organization the latter prevailed. George withdrew from the United Labor Party and cast his fortunes with the Democratic Party.

Under the leadership of McGlynn the United Labor Party conducted one more political campaign, that of 1888, but the results were so insignificant that the movement was given up as hopeless, and no attempt was made to revive it for the following campaign.

4. INDEPENDENT POLITICS AGAIN

The fate of the socialist delegates in the Syracuse convention of the United Labor Party had only served to enhance the popularity of their cause. The expulsion of the socialists from the organization on technical grounds was resented by many adherents of Henry George and caused a revulsion of feeling in favor of the socialists.

When the defeated delegates returned to New York, they were received with a veritable ovation. Their report and comments were heard by several thousand working men at a mass-meeting held in the large hall of the Cooper Union Institute, and it was then and there decided to call a conference of all radical labor organizations to consider the advisability of organizing a political party in opposition to the United Labor Party.

The first meeting of the conference was held on the 4th day of September, 1887, at Webster Hall, in the City of New York. Eighty-seven organizations were represented, fifty-six of these being trade-unions and thirty-one political organizations, mostly subdivisions of the Socialist Labor Party.

The conference constituted itself as a political party under the name Progressive Labor Party, adopted a platform which was practically identical with the one the United Labor Party had originally adopted and subsequently discarded, and called a state convention for the purpose of nominating candidates.

The convention was held in the City of New York on the 28th day of September. John Swinton was nominated for the office of Secretary of State to run against Henry George, but he declined on account of failing health, and J. Edward Hall* was substituted in his stead.

The campaign of the Progressive Labor Party was practically confined to the City of New York. It was brief and rather dull. The total number of votes cast for its ticket barely exceeded 5,000.

This was the last political campaign conducted by the Socialist Labor Party in conjunction with any other political party.

The enthusiasm of the movement of 1886 had aroused the socialists from their political lethargy, while the disappointments of 1887 had demonstrated to them the futility of fusion politics. Henceforward the socialists adhered unswervingly to the policy of independent political action. The socialists of New York initiated the movement by placing in the field a full ticket in 1888. In the City of New York the gubernatorial, mayoralty, congressional, and presidential elections coincided that year. J. Edward Hall was nominated for Governor, Alexander Jonas for Mayor, and a full list of other state, local, and congressional candidates was put in the field. But a rather embarrassing question arose on the nomination of a presidential ticket. A presidential ticket presupposes a national campaign, but the political activity of the party was practically confined to the City of New York. Besides, the platform of the Socialist Labor Party at that time contained a plank demanding the abolition of the Presidency of the United States, and it seemed inconsistent to nominate a candidate for an office to the existence of which the party was opposed. The difficulty was finally overcome by a rather ingenious device: the party nominated

* Born at Glen Cove, L. I., in 1851. He was a machinist by trade, and very prominent in the local socialist and trade-union movements alike. He died of consumption in 1889.

a full ticket of presidential electors with instructions to cast their votes in the electoral college for "No President."

In that campaign less than 3,000 votes were cast for the socialist ticket in the entire State of New York. Of this number about 2,500 fell to the credit of the City of New York, 232 votes were cast in Albany, 49 in Syracuse, and 32 in Utica. Outside of the State of New York the socialists had nominated candidates in only two places, Milwaukee and New Haven. They received 586 votes in the former and 82 in the latter.

The results were so disheartening that the New York *Volkszeitung*, and with it some of the foremost party leaders, again counseled abstention from politics.

But the advocates of independent political action within the ranks of the party were by no means discouraged by the first failure, and urged the policy of continued participation in all elections regardless of results.

The next national convention of the party held at Chicago in 1889 upheld the latter policy, and in 1890 we find the socialists of New York again actively engaged in politics. In that year some radical reform elements in the City of New York, led by the "nationalists," had constituted themselves into a "Commonwealth Party," and it was at first sought to bring about a political agreement between them and the socialists. But at the very first conference of the two organizations it became manifest that they differed materially in their aims and views, and the thought of political cooperation was abandoned. The Commonwealth Party did not succeed in obtaining the requisite number of signatures for its candidates on the state ticket, and limited itself to local nominations in the City of New York, where it polled less than 700 votes. The Socialist Labor Party nominated a full state ticket headed by Franz Gerau, a popular Brooklyn physician, as candidate for the office of Judge of the Court of Appeals, and polled 13,704 votes in the State.

What had greatly contributed to the comparative success

of the ticket was the introduction of the Australian secret-ballot system in the State of New York. Owing to this system, the names of the party's candidates appeared on the ballot in every one of the sixty-one counties of the State, and, to the great surprise of the socialists themselves, every county but one (Delaware) cast some votes for the ticket.

In the following year the socialist vote in the State of New York rose to 14,651 cast for Daniel De Leon, the party's candidate for Governor. At the same time the socialists of Massachusetts and New Jersey made their *début* in politics, the former polling a vote of 1,429, and the latter, 472.

In 1892 the socialists for the first time nominated a presidential ticket in the United States. This step was decided upon in a "national" party conference held in the month of September at the party headquarters in the City of New York. The conference was attended by eight representatives coming from the States of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Simon Wing, of Boston, Mass., a manufacturer of photographic instruments, was nominated President, and Charles H. Matchett of Brooklyn, N. Y., an electrician, was nominated Vice-President. The party had tickets in six States and polled a total vote of 21,512. From that time on new States were drawn into the circle of socialist politics every year, and the socialist vote rose slowly but steadily, as the following figures will indicate:

1893—25,666;

1894—30,120;

1895—34,869.

In the presidential elections of 1896 the socialists nominated Charles H. Matchett for President and Matthew Maguire for Vice-President, and polled a total vote of 36,275 in twenty States of the Union.

In the following year, however, the Socialist Labor Party vote rose to 55,550, and in 1898 it reached the figure of

82,204;* this was the highest vote ever polled by the Socialist Labor Party as such.

IV.—THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AND THE TRADE-UNIONS

I. LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

THE efforts of the Socialist Labor Party to gain the friendship of the trade-unions have been described in a previous chapter. These efforts, while not very successful on the whole, still bore good fruit in some instances.

A number of local trade-unions were in outspoken sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party, and the influence of the party was especially pronounced in some of the central organizations formed by such local unions. Of the latter type of organizations, the most important was the Central Labor-Union of New York, of which the following is a brief historical sketch:

In the beginning of 1882, when the Irish land question was warmly agitated in this country, several labor organizations had taken it upon themselves to arrange a mass-meeting in the large hall of the Cooper Union Institute, to express their sympathy with the Irish tenants. The meeting was attended by a number of representative trade-union men, and the formation of a permanent central committee of all trade-unions in the City of New York was then and there suggested. This suggestion was promptly acted upon, and on the 30th day of January, 1882, the first meeting of the Central Labor-Union of the City of New York was held. Fourteen organizations were represented, the German element predominating. The Central Labor-Union adopted a platform containing the principal socialist demands.

Philip Van Patten, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, delivered an address to the delegates, and

* The figures are taken from Lucien Sanial's "Socialist Almanac".

Matthew Maguire, another socialist, was elected secretary of the body. Within the six months following, the number of organizations represented in the Central Labor-Union rose to forty-five, and in a very short time the body became the most important factor in the labor movement of New York. The friendly relations of the Central Labor-Union with the Socialist Labor Party continued for several years.

In 1882, and again in 1883, the Central Labor-Union entered on the municipal campaigns of the City of New York as an independent organization, polling a little over 10,000 votes each time, and in 1886 it inaugurated the famous Henry George campaign.

The strength developed by organized labor during the latter campaign attracted the attention of the professional politicians, who now vied with each other in the endeavor to gain the good graces of the delegates to the Central Labor-Union. As long as the enthusiasm engendered by the George movement lasted, these attempts were unsuccessful, but with the collapse of the movement, a period of political demoralization set in, and many a labor leader was found to lend a willing ear to the promises of the old party managers. Rumors of "boodle" and "corruption" were ripe in the Central Labor-Union, factions were formed, and finally it came to an open breach. In February, 1889, after a stormy meeting in which charges of bribery in connection with the brewers' pool boycott were freely exchanged, about sixty delegates left the meeting-hall in a body, and formed a new organization under the name Central Labor Federation. After a separate existence of a few months the two organizations opened negotiations for a reunion. Several conferences were held, some objectionable elements were withdrawn from the Central Labor-Union as a concession to the Federation, and the two bodies were formally reunited in December, 1889.

But the union was not lasting. The antagonism between the opposing elements broke out anew, the meetings of the

body were consumed by heated discussions and mutual recriminations, and in June, 1890, another separation took place, and the Central Labor Federation was revived.

The Central Labor Federation consisted originally of thirty trade-unions, but the number soon grew to seventy-two. Among these were some of the strongest and most progressive organizations. The Socialist Labor Party was formally represented in the body, and for a long time exercised a controlling influence on all its deliberations. In 1900 the two organizations again consolidated, assuming the name of CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION.

The Central Labor-Union and the Central Labor Federation were by no means the only organizations of that kind in the United States. Similar organizations under the same or different names sprang up in all industrial cities of the Union, and some of them, notably the Central Labor Federations of Brooklyn and Hudson County, the Central Labor-Unions of Rochester, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, the Trade Council of New Haven, and the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago, were in accord with the socialist movement.

The greatest support, however, the Socialist Labor Party received from the German trade-unions in the City of New York, which in 1885 had organized a separate central body under the name UNITED GERMAN TRADES OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. This body was called into existence primarily for the purpose of supporting the labor press. During the four years of its existence it rendered valuable services to the New York *Volkszeitung* by extending its circulation, increasing its advertisements, and raising funds for its publication. It was also on the initiative of the United German Trades that the English organ of the Henry George campaign, the daily *Leader*, was established in 1886, and when the paper later on passed into the hands of the socialists, the German Trades assisted it financially and otherwise to the very end of its brief career.

The United German Trades were organized by the repre-

sentatives of about twelve trade-unions, but the number was soon quadrupled.

The example of New York was followed by Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Baltimore, Buffalo, and some other places, in all of which central bodies of German trade-unions were formed, and in 1887 the New York organization initiated a plan to form a national confederation of German trade-unions. But the plan never materialized, and the United German Trades themselves soon began to show signs of decline. As long as these bodies adhered to the original object of their creation, the support of the labor press, they performed a useful function in the labor movement, and prospered, but when toward 1888 they commenced to occupy themselves with general trade matters, they came in conflict with existing older and stronger central labor bodies, and not infrequently caused considerable confusion in the local movement. Many trade-unions disapproved of the new policy, and withdrew their delegates, and the United German Trades gradually disbanded.

An organization similar in scope and character to that of the United German Trades was the UNITED HEBREW TRADES, organized in the City of New York toward 1888. In the beginning of the eighties of the last century the immigration of Russian Jews to this country had assumed enormous dimensions. Thousands of these immigrants landed at the port of New York every week, and the majority of them settled on the lower East side of that city. Their principal industry was tailoring in all its branches, and within a few years they acquired a practical monopoly of the trade. Within the bounds of their settlement in the City of New York, which became the most congested spot on the face of the globe, hundreds of tailoring shops sprang up. These shops, popularly known as "sweat-shops," were as a rule conducted by middlemen or "contractors," with whose living rooms they were frequently connected. They were always dingy, uncleanly, and ill-ventilated, and in them scores

of men, women, and children were indiscriminately crowded together, working at times fifteen hours and more at a stretch for incredibly low wages.

Several attempts had been made from time to time to organize them, but the attempts had met with but poor success until the spring of 1888. By that time, however, the wages of the Jewish tailors had sunk so very low, and their conditions of work had become so very wretched, that even they, the men of so few needs, rebelled.

A series of strikes was inaugurated by them. The knee-pants-makers were the first to open fire and they were soon followed by the pants-makers, the cloak-makers, the shirt-makers, and the jacket-makers, and within a very few weeks an army of no less than 15,000 Jewish tailors had laid down work, demanding better pay and shorter hours.

The strikers were unorganized and undisciplined, and it is very doubtful whether they would have accomplished anything substantial without the aid of the socialists. The latter practically assumed the entire charge of the situation. They organized the strikers into trade-unions, collected strike funds for them, directed their battle, and led them to victory. It was shortly after that and likewise on the initiative of the Jewish socialists that the United Hebrew Trades was organized. It is, therefore, natural that there was at all times a strong bond of sympathy between the Jewish trade-union movement and the socialist movement: most of the organizers, leaders, and speakers of the Jewish trade-unions came from the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and in return the organized Jewish working men for a number of years heartily cooperated with the party in all it undertook, and promptly responded to all of its appeals.

United Hebrew Trades after the pattern of the New York body were also organized in Newark and Philadelphia, and, I believe, in one or two more places.

The Socialist Labor Party thus acquired considerable influence in several important local organizations of labor, but

its struggles for a footing in the great national confederations of trade-unions were much harder and less successful, as will be shown in the following chapters.

2. THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The once powerful order of the Knights of Labor had a very humble beginning.

In the sixties of the last century the garment-cutters of Philadelphia organized a Union of their trade. The Union soon incurred the displeasure of the employers, and its members were frequently compelled to choose between their organization and their jobs. Under these circumstances it was deemed best to abandon the open organization, and in December, 1869, seven members of the Union, headed by U. S. Stephens and James L. Wright, organized a secret society under the name of the Noble Order of Knights of Labor.

The first election of permanent officers was held in January, 1870, and the following officers were elected: Venerable Sage, Past-Officer, James L. Wright; Master Workman, U. S. Stephens; Worthy Foreman, Robert W. Keen; Worthy Inspector, William Cook; Unknown Knight, Joseph S. Kennedy.

The society was originally composed exclusively of garment-cutters, and at the end of the first year of its existence it numbered only sixty-nine members. In 1871, however, it was decided to extend the operations of the Order to other trades, and the period of growth of the Knights commenced. During the next year no less than nineteen new unions, denominated "Local Assemblies," were organized under the auspices of the Knights of Labor in Philadelphia alone, and similar organizations soon followed in other cities and States.

In 1873 the locals of Philadelphia formed the first "District Assembly" of the Order. This plan of organization was adopted by other Local Assemblies, and in 1877 there

were over fifteen District Assemblies in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, South Carolina, Connecticut, Ohio, and other States. District Assembly No. 1 of Philadelphia was by tacit consent regarded as the head of the organization.

Up to 1878 the Order was a strictly secret organization, and even its name was not divulged to the uninitiated. On all official communications and calls the organization was designated as "N. and H. O. of the * * * * * of North America," the five asterisks standing for "Knights of Labor."

As the organization grew in membership and power, the veil of secrecy surrounding its existence gave rise to the most adventurous and absurd rumors. The inventive newspapers told gruesome stories of widespread communistic and incendiary plots hidden behind the cabalistic sign of the asterisks. The "criminal combination" was fiercely denounced from the pulpit, and the unknown ever present and dangerous organization seriously disturbed the peace of the good citizens. Under these circumstances U. S. Stephens, the Grand Master Workman of the Order, issued a call for an emergency meeting "to consider the expediency of making the name of the Order public, for the purpose of defending it from the fierce assaults and defamation made upon it by press, clergy, and corporate capital." The meeting was held at Philadelphia in June, 1878, and the name, object, and declaration of principles of the Order were made public.

During the same year the first national convention of the Knights of Labor was held in Reading, Pa., and a central executive body under the title "General Assembly" was created.

Since that time the Order spread with unprecedented rapidity. At the third meeting of the General Assembly, held at Chicago in September, 1879, it was reported that over 700 Local Assemblies had been organized, of which number, however, only 102 were reported. In 1883 the membership of the Knights of Labor numbered over 52,000; in 1884

it rose to 71,000, and in 1885 to 111,000. In the year 1886 the Order reached its high-water mark. The strike fever and labor troubles of that year caused a veritable rush of new members to the Order; hundreds of new Assemblies were organized; thousands of new members of all trades were admitted daily, and the total number of members of the Order during that year was variously estimated at from 500,000 to 800,000.

The period of unnatural growth of the Order was soon succeeded by a period of reaction. The numerous defeats of the Knights in the strikes of 1886 created a spirit of dissatisfaction, and when the American Federation of Labor was organized at about that time, members deserted the Order in large numbers to join the new organization. In 1891 the total membership of the Knights of Labor was said to be less than 200,000, and it has been steadily decreasing, until to-day a very few thousand men scattered in different parts of the country are all that is left of the Order.

U. S. Stephens, the founder of the Knights of Labor, was the Master Workman of the Order until 1879, when Terence V. Powderly was elected in his stead, and the latter remained in office continually until 1893, when he was in turn succeeded by J. R. Sovereign.

The first declaration of principles was adopted by the Order in 1878. It was in substance the platform prepared by George E. McNeil for the Rochester labor congress of 1874.*

* A different and more romantic version of the origin of the document is given in the *Sozialist*, vol. iv, No. 10, by the author, writing under the *nom de plume* of "Loma." The writer, a socialist, and at one time a prominent "Knight," relates that on some occasion in 1881 he interrogated the old U. S. Stephens on the subject, and received the following reply: "In the course of my travels through Europe some thirty years ago, I made the acquaintance of a certain London tailor by the name of Eccarius. Later on, when I organized the Clothing-Cutters' Union of Philadelphia, I received from time to time from the same tailor quantities of agitation pamphlets, among them this 'Manifesto.' I had never read the pamphlet before, but I found it con-

The preamble to the declaration opens with the following statement:

"The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses.

"It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that a check be placed upon unjust accumulation and the power for evil of aggregated wealth."

The Order further declares it as one of its aims: "To secure for the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create," and among others, makes the following demands upon the State:

"IV. That the public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers; not another acre for railroads or speculators; and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value."

"XVIII. That the Government shall obtain possession, by purchase, under the rights of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight."

One of the immediate tasks of the Order is stated to be the establishment of cooperative works, "such as will tend to supersede the wage system by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system."

This declaration of principles has never been changed or modified in any substantial particular. The radical tone of the document, and especially the passages quoted above, have frequently given rise to the belief that the Order of Knights

tained pretty much everything I had thought out myself, and I used it largely in the preparation of the Declaration of Principles of the Order." The Eccarius referred to by Stephens was the well-known Internationalist and coworker of Marx and Engels, and the pamphlet sent by him was the famous "Communist Manifesto."

of Labor was a socialist organization. But as a matter of fact it was far from it. The founders of the Order were undoubtedly men of radical views on social problems, as appears from the public utterances of U. S. Stephens and his early associates. The declaration of principles, apparently influenced by socialist thought, probably expressed their actual views, but in later years, and especially since the advent to power of T. V. Powderly, it was a dead letter, and the efforts of the socialists to gain a foothold in the Order were productive of very poor results.

As early as 1881 several leading members of the Socialist Labor Party, and among them Philip Van Patten, the National Secretary of the party, joined the Order, and the official organ of the party repeatedly expressed its sympathy with the aims and objects of the Knights of Labor. But the relations of the two organizations remained purely platonic, and only when the Order was already on the decline, toward the beginning of the nineties, the socialists gained some actual influence in the organization. In the City of New York one Local Assembly, known as the "Excelsior Club," was composed almost exclusively of socialists, and many other locals were in sympathy with socialism. In 1893 the Socialist Labor Party obtained control of the New York District Assembly, the erstwhile famous District Assembly 49 of the Knights of Labor, and succeeded in having some of its members elected delegates to the General Assembly. The socialist delegates were largely instrumental in the defeat of Powderly for re-election that year, and their influence in the Order was so great that J. R. Sovereign, the newly elected Master Workman, promised to appoint a member of the Socialist Labor Party to the editorship of the "Journal of the Knights of Labor," the official organ of the Order. The promise was not kept, and gave rise to a heated controversy between Sovereign and Daniel De Leon, the leader of the socialists in the Order, and the editor of *The People*, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party. As a result of

the controversy the annual convention of the Order, held at Washington, in December, 1895, refused to seat De Leon as a delegate from District Assembly 49. The greater portion of the District withdrew from the Order, and all connections between the Socialist Labor Party and the Knights of Labor were severed.

3. THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The ultimate aim of the Knights of Labor was to unite all working men of the United States into one body. The organization was not by trades, but by localities; it was strictly centralized, the General Assembly being the supreme authority for all organizations within the Order, and no national trade-union being allowed in its midst. This form of organization, as well as the complicated ritual and ceremonies which still survived after the veil of secrecy had been removed from the Order, and the autocratic demeanor of its officers, largely impaired the usefulness of the organization for the purpose of practical labor struggles. The feeling of discontent with the Order grew steadily, and in 1881 representatives of several national labor organizations called a convention of "international and national unions, trade councils, and local unions" for the purpose of forming a confederation of autonomous labor organizations for mutual support and for the furtherance of the general interests of labor.

The convention met at Pittsburg on the 15th day of November, 1881, and an organization was formed under the name "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor-Unions of the United States and Canada." The Federation was not at that period regarded as a rival of the Knights of Labor, and no less than forty-eight out of the 107 delegates who assisted in the formation of the new body represented locals of the Knights of Labor.

The second convention of the Federation was held at Cleveland in November, 1882, and was attended by only

seventeen delegates. The Knights of Labor were not represented, and the first note of hostility between the two bodies was sounded by the adoption of a resolution setting forth the objects of the Federation. The resolution contained the following passage aimed against the Knights of Labor:

"The Federation seeks to attain the industrial unity of the working men not by prescribing a stereotyped, uniform plan of organization for all, regardless of their experience or necessities, nor by antagonizing or aiming to destroy existing organizations, but by preserving all that is integral in them and widening their scope, so that each, without submerging its individuality, may act with the others in all that concerns them."

The third convention was held at the City of New York in August, 1883. Twenty-two organizations were represented by twenty-seven delegates, among them one woman, representing the National League of Working Women. Significant for the spirit prevailing in this convention was the passage of a resolution demanding of the Republican and Democratic parties that they make public declarations of their next national conventions, of their attitude on the question of the enforcement of the eight-hour law, the incorporation of national trade-unions, and the establishment of a national bureau of labor.

The fourth annual convention of the Federation was held in Chicago in October, 1884, and was attended by twenty-five delegates. Resolutions condemning child labor were adopted, and the Supreme Court of New York was censured for having declared unconstitutional the law against manufacturing cigars in tenement-houses. But the most important and far-reaching act of the convention was the adoption of a resolution "that from May 1, 1886, eight hours shall constitute a legal work-day, and that all labor organizations should prepare for it."

The fifth convention met at Washington in December,

1885, attended by only eighteen delegates. Further preparations for the struggle for an eight-hour day were made, but in other respects the proceedings were of no significance. In the mean time the labor movement of the country had developed enormously. The eight-hour agitation inaugurated by the Federation, and the industrial prosperity had encouraged the working men to general demands for improved conditions of labor. The ranks of existing trade-unions were rapidly swelled, and new organizations were formed.

At the same time the rivalry between the Order of Knights of Labor and the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions developed into open hostility. Some attempts at conciliation and unification of forces were made by the Federation, but its advances were uniformly repelled by the Knights, who insisted on their narrow and oligarchic form of organization. The result was that a number of unaffiliated trade-unions, mistrusting the efficiency of both bodies, called an independent convention of labor organizations, to be held on December 8, 1886, at Columbus, Ohio. The Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions showed its diplomatic acumen by calling its convention for December 7th, at the same place. Here delegates from twenty-five national organizations, affiliated and unaffiliated, representing a membership of 316,469, met for a common purpose.

The old Federation was dissolved, and the American Federation of Labor was founded in its stead.

The convention radically modified the declaration of principles and the constitution of the old Federation, appointed an executive committee of five officers, provided for larger revenues, and elected Samuel Gompers its first president.

After the reorganization the Federation progressed with large strides. Its annual convention of 1887 was attended by fifty-eight delegates, representing a membership of 618,000, according to official reports.

The convention of 1888, held at St. Louis, fixed the 1st day of May, 1900, as the date on which the general move-

ment for an eight-hour work-day was to be reinaugurated. A similar resolution was adopted one year later by the first international convention of socialists assembled at Paris, and the 1st day of May has since become an international holiday of labor.

The resolution of the Federation was partly carried out. In 1900 the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who were selected to lead the movement, struck for an eight-hour day; the brotherhood was successful in 137 cities and benefited over 46,000 working men of the trade. The cigar-makers and German typesetters had gained a similar reduction of hours of labor about two years earlier.

At the tenth annual convention of the Federation, held at Detroit in December, 1890, 83 organizations were represented by 103 delegates. The president reported having issued 282 charters during the preceding year, and the national organizations had established over 900 branches during the same period; since the convention of 1889, 1,163 strikes had taken place, of which 989 were successful, 98 compromised, and only 76 lost.

The Federation gained in popular favor and routed the Knights of Labor completely. Since 1887 the total number of its members had vacillated around the figure of 600,000, but since 1891 every year marked a new increase.

The declaration of principles and objects of the American Federation of Labor is much more conservative in tone than that of the Knights of Labor, and still the former organization was certainly the more radical of the two.

The Order of the Knights of Labor was an aristocratic body removed from the uninitiated world by a cover of secrecy and a complex system of rituals and ceremonies. The Federation, on the other hand, was at all times a democratic organization, freely and openly discussing all labor problems brought to its attention, in touch with the labor interests of the country, and ever engaged in open struggle with capital.

It is largely for these reasons that the Federation became

a favorite field of operation for the socialists from the very start. Out of the 107 delegates who assisted at the formation of the body in 1881, six were outspoken socialists; and even Samuel Gompers, the president of the Federation, who in later days was its most decided opponent, was at that time very friendly to socialism. Some papers even went so far as to class him with the socialists.

Every convention of the Federation had a larger or smaller representation of socialists, who endeavored to utilize the occasion for the propaganda of their theories.

At the convention of 1885 the socialists for the first time introduced a resolution advocating independent political action of the working class. The resolution was defeated, but at its next annual convention the Federation by a large majority decided to urge upon its members "to give cordial support to the independent political movements of the working class."

At every one of the subsequent conventions of the Federation the socialists managed to bring up their theories for general discussion in one form or another, and especially at the convention of 1890 the subject received a most thorough treatment. In the summer preceding that convention the Central Labor Federation of New York had applied to the American Federation of Labor for a charter. The charter was refused on the ground that the list of organizations affiliated with the body contained the name of the "American Section" of the Socialist Labor Party. This, Mr. Gompers declared, was in direct contravention of the provisions of Article IV., Section 5, of the constitution of the Federation, which prohibits affiliation with political parties.

The Central Labor Federation appealed from this decision to the convention, and sent Lucien Sanial, the representative of the "American Section," to argue the appeal.

The debate was long and heated. The socialists contended that their organization was not a political party in the ordinary sense of the term; that the Socialist Labor Party was

an organization devoted to the interests of labor exclusively; and that its participation in politics was merely an incident in its struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

Gompers and his followers, on the other hand, argued that a political party is a political party, no matter what its ultimate objects may be. The issue was by no means drawn squarely on the indorsement of socialism. Several delegates expressly declared that they were not hostile to socialism or to independent political action, but that they would vote against the seating of Sanial on the ground that they were opposed to the introduction of politics in the Federation. On the whole, however, the ultimate vote on the admission of the Central Labor Federation—535 for to 1,699* against—was probably a good test of the strength of socialism in the Federation at that time.

The subject of Socialism was brought before the Federation in a more direct manner at its Chicago convention of 1893, when Thomas J. Morgan, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, introduced the following resolution:

“*Whereas*, The trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

“*Whereas*, Such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

“*Whereas*, Such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to wit:

- “1. Compulsory education;
- “2. Direct legislation;
- “3. A legal eight-hour work-day;
- “4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and home;
- “5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life;

*The vote in the conventions of the Federation is by representation, each delegate having one vote for every one hundred constituents.

"6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work;

"7. The abolition of the sweating system;

"8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and power;

"9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines;

"10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution;

"11. The principle of referendum in all legislation; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and

"*Resolved*, That this program and basis of a political labor movement be and is hereby submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject."

The resolution was discussed with much earnestness and skill on both sides, but the socialists had decidedly the better end of the debate: the general destitution of the working men brought on by the industrial crisis of that year had made the minds of the delegates more receptive to radical social views, and the fact that the resolution called for a referendum vote on its final adoption, placed its opponents in the unpleasant position of withholding an important question from the consideration of their constituents. The resolution was carried by a comfortable majority, and during the next year the members of the numerous labor organizations affiliated with the Federation were discussing and voting on it. The socialists have always claimed that the resolution *in toto* had been overwhelmingly indorsed on this popular vote; their opponents in the trade-union movement deny it. Neither contention could be substantiated by proof, for, at

the next convention of the Federation in December, 1894, when the resolution came again before the delegates for a vote in accordance with their instructions, the managing powers of the convention succeeded in side-tracking the issue by a clever trick. When the vote was to be taken on plank 10, which was the very substance of the resolution, calling as it did for the collective ownership of all means of production and distribution, a substitute was suddenly offered, calling for the grant of public lands to actual tillers of the soil only. The substitute was adopted after some debate, and the original motion was thus superseded by it.

The issues of Socialism were introduced in the three succeeding annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the shape of one resolution or another, and on the average such resolutions received about one-fourth of the delegates' votes.

In 1898, finally, the Kansas City convention of the Federation, after defeating a socialist resolution introduced by Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland, defined its attitude on the question in the following language:

"We hold that the trade-unions of America, as comprised in the American Federation of Labor, do not now, and never have, declared against discussion of economic and political questions in the meetings of the respective unions. We are committed against the indorsement or introduction of partizan politics, religious differences, or race prejudices. We hold it to be the duty of trade-unionists to study and discuss all questions that have any bearing upon their industrial or political liberty."

4. THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE

The battles for socialism in the conventions of the Federation had since 1890 been waged by individual members of the Socialist Labor Party, without the sanction or approval of the official party administration. The recognized party

leaders and the official party press had withdrawn their support and sympathy from the Federation ever since the Sanial incident at the Detroit convention, and, while many prominent party members, such as Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago, Max S. Hayes of Cleveland, and J. Mahlon Barnes of Philadelphia, continued their efforts to infuse the principles of socialism in the Federation, the party officials, headed by Daniel De Leon, inaugurated a campaign to capture the Knights of Labor with the results shown above.

When the breach between the Socialist Labor Party and the Knights became final in November, 1895, the former, for the first time in the history of its career, found itself in open opposition to both existing national bodies of trade-union organizations.

The experience of the editor of *The People* and his associates during their brief but tempestuous careers in the American Federation of Labor and in the Order of the Knights of Labor had utterly discouraged them. They renounced all hope of ever winning over the "corrupt" bodies to socialism, and the creation of a rival organization—THE SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE—followed.

When the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party first laid their plans to obtain control of the Order of the Knights of Labor, they induced a number of friendly trade-unions in the city of New York, consisting principally of German and Jewish working men, to join the Order. These unions remained loyal to the Socialist Labor Party, even after the final breach between the party and the Knights; and when, in December, 1895, De Leon publicly repudiated the Order and called on them to withdraw from it, the great majority of unions followed the call.

These seceders from the Knights of Labor formed the nucleus of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and other labor-unions in sympathy with the socialist movement followed their lead.

Within the first two or three years of its existence the

Alliance issued over 200 charters to various labor organizations, the most important among them being the Central Labor Federation of New York with twenty-seven unions, the United Hebrew Trades of New York with twenty-five unions, the Socialist Labor Federation of Brooklyn with twelve unions, the Socialist Labor Federation of Newark with seven unions, and a Chicago Central organization consisting of eight unions.

The Alliance had besides a number of local organizations in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and other States, and in the period of its bloom its membership was said to exceed 20,000.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, altho an organization of trade-unions, was to be a kind of a supplement of the Socialist Labor Party.

In direct opposition to the views of the Federation and the Knights, it laid more stress on the political action of the working class than on their economic struggles; it invited the various "sections" of the Socialist Party to send representatives to its local councils; it requested the party as a whole to be represented in its conventions, and exacted a pledge from every local and national officer "that he would not affiliate with any capitalist party and not support any political action except that of the Socialist Labor Party."

In form of organization the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was an almost exact copy of the Order of Knights of Labor. The separate organizations were denominated Local Alliances, the locals of a city formed a District Alliance, and the supreme power of the organization was vested in a general executive board.

The Alliance was a failure from the start. Its inconsistent and rather vague aims and its highly centralized and antiquated system of organization rendered it very inefficient for practical labor struggles, and the dictatorial policy of its leaders made the organization distasteful to many of the

most important organizations affiliated with it. The first organizations to leave the Alliance were the Brewers' Unions of Brooklyn and Newark, of whom the general executive board had demanded that they sever their connections with their national organizations. Other unions soon followed the lead of the brewers. Out of the 228 organizations chartered by the Alliance between December, 1895, and July 4, 1898, only 114 survived at the opening of its third annual convention, held at Buffalo in July, 1898, and of these only 54 were paying dues to the Alliance.* Shortly after the Buffalo convention the Central Federated Union of New York, by far the strongest organization of the Alliance, seceded, and the latter was left with a mere handful of men.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance still exists in name, but it plays no part in the trade-union movement of the country.

* "The Attitude of the Socialists toward the Trade-Unions," by N. I. Stone, New York, 1900.

CHAPTER IV

Present-Day Socialism

I.—THE FORMATIVE FORCES OF PRESENT-DAY SOCIALISM

MANY events in the industrial and political life of the nation during the closing decade of the last century contributed to the spread of the socialist sentiment in this country. The tendency toward concentration of industry had never before been so marked. "Not less than \$500,000,000 is in the coal combination," reported Lloyd in 1894,* "that in oil has nearly, if not quite, \$200,000,000, and the other combinations in which its members are leaders foot up hundreds of millions more. Hundreds of millions of dollars are united in the railroads and elevators of the Northwest against the wheat-growers. In cattle and meat there are not less than \$100,000,000; in whisky \$35,000,000, and in beer a great deal more than that; in sugar, \$75,000,000; in leather, over \$100,000,000; in gas, hundreds of millions There are in round numbers \$10,000,000,000 claiming dividends and interest in the railroads of the United States. Every year they are more closely pooled."

These immense combinations of capital had the effect of uniting vast armies of labor in each of the lines of industry mentioned. The gigantic trusts called forth formidable trade-unions. The class lines were drawn more distinctly, and the class struggles grew more embittered and assumed larger proportions. Hardly a year passed without witnessing one or more powerful contests between capital and labor.

The earlier part of the remarkable decade was particularly replete with such contests, and, without attempting to give anything like an adequate account of them, we will mention a few of the most noteworthy strikes of that period.

* Henry D. Lloyd: "Wealth *vs.* Commonwealth."

The first of this series of strikes to attract universal attention was that which broke out in the iron- and steel-works of Carnegie & Co., at Homestead, Pa., in July, 1892.

Homestead was a town of about 12,000 inhabitants, founded by Andrew Carnegie and his associates, and its population consisted chiefly of employees of the steel-works. These were organized under the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, and it had been their custom to fix their wages by periodical agreements with their employers. The last of these agreements expired on June 30, 1892. When that date approached, the owners of the works announced a reduction of wages and demanded that the new scale be made to terminate in January instead of June. The employees rejected the proposed terms principally on the ground that they could not afford a cessation of work in midwinter, and would not be in a position to resist further reductions of wages, if such were to be made upon the termination of the agreement. A lockout followed, and the battle was on.

The employers were by no means unprepared for the struggle. Weeks in advance Mr. H. C. Frick, the active manager of the concern, had surrounded the works by a fence three miles long, fifteen feet in height and covered with barbed wire. The fortification was dubbed by the operatives "Fort Frick."

The next step of the employers was to import a force of 300 Pinkerton constables armed to the teeth, who arrived by water in the early morning hours of July 6th. The coming of these men precipitated a scene of excitement and bloodshed almost unprecedented in the annals of the labor struggles of this country. As soon as the boat carrying the Pinkertons was sighted by the pickets, the alarm was sounded. The strikers were aroused from their sleep, and within a few minutes the river front was covered with a crowd of coatless and hatless men armed with guns and rifles, and grimly determined to prevent the landing of the

Pinkertons. The latter, however, did not seem to appreciate the gravity of the situation. They sought to intimidate the strikers by assuming a threatening attitude and aiming the muzzles of their shining revolvers at them. A moment of intense expectation followed, then a shot was suddenly fired from the boat, and one of the strikers fell to the ground mortally wounded. A howl of fury and a volley of bullets came back from the line of the strikers, and a wild fusillade was opened on both sides. In vain did the strike leaders attempt to pacify the men and to stop the carnage—the strikers were beyond control. The struggle lasted several hours, after which the Pinkertons retreated from the river bank and withdrew to the cabin of the boat. There they remained in the sweltering heat of the July sun without air or ventilation, under the continuing fire of the enraged men on the shore, until they finally surrendered. They were imprisoned by the strikers in a rink, and in the evening they were sent out of town by rail. The number of the dead on both sides was twelve, and over twenty were seriously wounded. After this incident Homestead was placed under martial law, and state troops were stationed in the town for several weeks, displaying great severity. The contest ended with the defeat of the strikers.

The strike at Homestead was still in progress when a struggle of almost equal intensity broke out in the far Northwest, in the Cœur d'Alene district in the State of Idaho. The rich silver- and lead-mines of the district had for a long time been operated by the miners themselves, individually or in small groups. But with the onward march of civilization the mines attracted the attention of enterprising capitalists. They were purchased and syndicated, and the former independent miners were reduced to wage-workers, whose wages were besides steadily on the decrease. The miners organized, and their demand for higher wages having been refused, they struck. Their places were soon filled, and an armed battle ensued between the strikers and strike breakers, as a

result of which several men were killed and wounded on both sides. The strikers remained in control of the situation, driving those who had taken their places from the mines. They were 1,200 strong and well-armed, while the entire state militia consisted nominally of 196 men. In this emergency the governor appealed for federal troops, and the latter were promptly and liberally furnished. The strike was suppressed, the leaders arrested and thrown into prison, and suit was instituted to dissolve the miners' union as an unlawful combination.

Within less than one month from the occurrences described two new labor struggles of large dimensions broke out simultaneously in widely different parts of the country—Buffalo and Tennessee.

THE BUFFALO STRIKE.—In 1892 the legislature of the State of New York enacted a law limiting the work time of railway employees to ten hours a day. The passage of this law had been warmly agitated as a measure of relief to the overworked employees as well as a measure of safety for the traveling public. But when it had finally been enacted, it was found to contain a "rider" in the shape of a provision permitting the companies to exact from their employees overtime work for an extra compensation. This provision had the effect of nullifying the entire law. The companies reduced the wages of their employees more than sufficiently to allow for the extra compensation for overtime, and as a result the wages of the railroad workers had somewhat decreased while their hours of labor had remained unchanged.

The employees to suffer most from this state of affairs were the switchmen, who not infrequently were kept at work thirty-six hours in succession without as much as an intermission for meals. In Buffalo the number of switchmen employed by the several roads amounted to over 400, and on the 13th day of August, 1892, these struck for shorter hours and better pay. The attempts of the companies to fill the places of the strikers were unsuccessful, the strike gained

in extension, and railroad traffic around Buffalo was blocked. The switchmen had the sympathy of the population, and the local militia, which was called into requisition at an early stage of the contest, did not seem inclined to interfere with their "picketing." The prospects looked bright for the strikers, when the railroad officials by threats and cajoling forced the somewhat reluctant sheriff to call on the governor for troops. Within forty-eight hours almost the entire militia of the State—about 8,000 in number, as against the 400 strikers—appeared on the scene of the battle, and the situation was at once changed. Under the protection of the militia the companies procured men to take the places of the strikers; picketing and other methods of warfare usually employed by strikers were not tolerated, the backbone of the contest was broken, and the strike was declared off on the 24th day of August.

A substantially different state of facts led to the labor struggles in the coal regions of Tennessee at about the same time. There the trouble arose over the employment of convict labor in the mines. Under the prison system of the State the authorities had for a number of years been in the habit of hiring out convicts, principally of the colored race, to the mine-owners on yearly contracts, and, as a rule, convict labor and free labor were employed in the same mines. This competition and humiliating associations were a standing source of grievances for the miners, and more than once the sturdy Tennesseans had rebelled, and with armed hand driven the convicts out of the mines.

The troubles of 1892 were a repetition of the same occurrences, except that the operations were conducted on a larger scale. The first skirmish took place at Tracy City, where the free miners captured about 300 prison workers, set them at large and burned their barracks. Two days later the same procedure was reenacted at the iron-mines of Inman, on August 17th, in the coal-mines of Oliver Springs, and on the 18th in Coal Creek.

Several troops of militia despatched by the governor of the State were captured on the way, disarmed and sent back; telegraph wires were cut and railroad tracks demolished. The miners were in absolute control of the field, until finally the entire state militia was concentrated in the mine regions. Then the strikers were defeated and unmercifully punished. Warrants were out for all leaders of the movement. No less than 500 arrests were made within a few days, churches and schoolhouses were converted into prisons, and indictments for murder, riot, conspiracy, etc., were found by the score. The rebellion was quelled, and quiet was restored in Tennessee.

But the most far-reaching and sensational of the strikes of that period was the Pullman or Chicago strike of 1894.

Pullman was founded in 1880 by the famous palace-car builder, George M. Pullman, in the vicinity of Chicago. It is a factory town provided with "model" tenement-houses, schoolhouses, churches, stores, and a library, all owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company and rented to the company's employees. It was not a philanthropic experiment like the famous New Lanark of Owen, but a pure business enterprise, and a very remunerative one at that. The company furnished not only the rooms, but the gas, the water, and all other necessities and comforts of the tenants—at high prices. At the same time the wages of the operatives were very low, and the entire town was at all times deeply in the company's debt. In the spring of 1894 the employees owed the firm the sum of \$80,000 for rent alone, and not infrequently the former, after a deduction of rent from their pay-rolls, had nothing left for other living expenses.

It was under these circumstances that the Pullman Palace Car Company announced another reduction of wages, amounting to no less than about twenty-five per cent. on the average. The employees refused to consent to the reduction, and were locked out. Numerous efforts were made in behalf of the men to induce the Pullman Company to submit the

controversy to arbitration, but all such overtures were met by the unbending and unvarying declaration of the company, "We have nothing to arbitrate."

This situation had continued for many weeks, when the American Railway Union took the matter in hand.

The American Railway Union was organized at Chicago in June, 1893, through the tireless efforts of Eugene V. Debs. It was a combination of different organizations of railway employees, and, in 1894, was said to number no less than 150,000 members. The organization of the Pullman employees was affiliated with the union, and when the annual convention of the latter met at Chicago, in June, 1894, it appointed a committee again to request the Pullman Company to submit the grievances of their employees to arbitration. No heed was paid to the committee, and the convention, amid cheers of enthusiasm, decided to boycott the Pullman cars, and to refuse to do work on any trains to which such cars might be attached.

The battle now grew general. On the part of the employees the strike was conducted by Eugene V. Debs with great ability and courage, while the campaign of the railroad companies was directed by the General Managers' Association. The strike grew in dimensions and intensity from hour to hour. Within a few days all railway traffic in Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Omaha, San Francisco, and in many other important points of the Middle and Western States, was paralyzed. The transportation of meat and agricultural products was seriously impaired, and many industries all over the country were crippled. The American Railway Union seemed sure of victory when the United States courts stepped in by issuing injunctions, forbidding the strikers to prosecute the boycott of the Pullman cars. The first injunctions were issued by Judges Wood and Grosscup at Chicago, and their example was followed by judges in other States.

The situation grew still more acute when the President

of the United States, over the protest of Governor Altgeld, sent federal troops into the State of Illinois, and when right thereafter he issued proclamations to the good citizens of the city of Chicago, the States of North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, Colorado, and California, and the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, to preserve the peace and to withdraw to their houses. The proclamations and the presence of federal troops and state militia placed a vast territory of the country practically under martial law. But notwithstanding these strenuous measures, or, perhaps, on account of them, serious disorders and acts of violence occurred in many places.

In the mean while the United States district attorney at Chicago, under the directions of United States Attorney-General Olney, had impaneled an extraordinary grand jury, which found an indictment for conspiracy against Debs and other strike leaders. These were immediately arrested and released under heavy bail. Immediately upon their release they were rearrested on the charge of contempt of court. This time Debs and his comrades refused to furnish bail and were sent to the Cook County jail to await trial. The strike was broken. "It was not the railways, nor the armies that beat us, but the power of the United States courts," Debs subsequently testified before the United States Strike Commission, appointed to investigate the famous labor war.

The number of persons killed during the strike was 12, 515 persons were arrested by the state police, and 190 by the United States courts. Bradstreet's estimated the loss occasioned by the strike to the country at large to be about \$80,000,000.

In September of the same year Debs was tried on the charge of contempt of court, found guilty and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the Woodstock jail.

The strikes thus briefly described by no means exhaust the list of violent struggles between capital and labor which marked the closing years of the nineteenth century. Simi-

lar strikes occurred from time to time in various parts of the country, and most of them presented substantially the same features. They were conducted on a large scale, and not infrequently shook the entire industrial foundation of the country. For the greater part they were as brief in duration as they were intense in character, and in a majority of cases they were quelled by the aid of the local police force, state militia, or federal troops. The injunction which had first shown its great effectiveness in the Chicago strike grew rapidly in favor as a method of settling labor disputes, and became the regular concomitant of every important strike. The phrase of "government by injunction," which played so prominent a part in recent political history, owes its origin to this fact.

With few exceptions the strikes resulted in the defeat of the working men.

These events created a certain dissatisfaction with the existing order of things in large sections of the working class and made them more accessible to the teachings of socialism. Nor was the social discontent wholly limited to the city workers. The rural population of the country had its own grievances. The closing decades of the last century had wrought great changes in the economic situation of the farmer. The development of the great railroad lines and the marvelous improvements in the transportation facilities had created one national market for farm products in this country, and the farmer was drawn into the mill of industrial competition as effectively as the manufacturer of the city. What made the competition still more disastrous for the ordinary American farmer was the advent of the huge bonanza farms of the West. These farms, established on large tracts of land, frequently acquired by their owners from the Government for a nominal consideration, were tilled and worked with perfected machinery on an immense scale, were well stocked, and could easily afford to undersell their smaller competitors. The prices of farm products fell steadily, while

the implements of farming became more complicated and expensive.

Thus the farmers found it harder and harder with every year to make both ends meet, and the money lender was called into requisition. The practise of mortgaging farms spread with alarming rapidity—in 1890 the total mortgage indebtedness of the farms in this country was no less than \$1,085,995,960, and the indebtedness bore interest at a rate exceeding 7 per cent. In the same year only 47 per cent. of the farmers owned their farms unencumbered, according to compiled census returns. Of the remaining 53 per cent., 34 per cent. did not own the farms which they were working, and 19 per cent. owned them subject to mortgages. Rent and interest reduced the meager income of the farmer to a minimum, and the statement was made on good authority that the average net income of the American farmer was \$200 per year or less.*

Alongside of these industrial movements, and no doubt partly in consequence of them, a new and radical tendency was rapidly developing in the social and political life of the country. This tendency manifested itself in a variety of ways, but found its most pronounced expression in the Nationalist and Populist movements.

The Nationalist movement was the immediate result of the appearance of Bellamy's famous utopian novel, "Looking Backward."

Edward Bellamy was born in 1850 at Chicopee Falls, in the State of Massachusetts, as the son of a clergyman. He studied law, but soon discarded that profession for the more congenial vocation of the journalist, and wrote several novels, which met with but moderate success. In 1887 he published his "Looking Backward." The original conception of the work, it is related, did not contemplate the treatment of present social or industrial problems. The author merely intended to write a playful fairy tale of universal harmony

*"The American Farmer," by A. M. Simons, Chicago, 1902.

and felicity. But as he progressed with his work his subject assumed a more realistic tendency and direct application. The novelist gradually yielded to the reformer, and the work of fiction turned into a social and political treatise.

Bellamy was not familiar with the modern socialist philosophy when he wrote his book. His views and theories were the result of his own observation and reasoning, and, like all other utopians, he evolved a complete social scheme hinging mainly on one fixed idea. In the case of Bellamy, it is the idea "of an industrial army for *maintaining* the community, precisely as the duty of *protecting* it is entrusted to a military army." "What inference could possibly be more obvious and more unquestioned," he asks, "than the advisability of trying to see if a plan which was found to work so well for purposes of destruction might not be profitably applied to the business of production, now in such shocking confusion?"

The historical development of society and the theory of the class struggle, which play so great a part in the philosophy of modern socialism, have no place in Bellamy's system. With him it is all a question of advisability and expediency; he is not an exponent of the laws of social development, but a social inventor.

But this feature, which would have been a source of weakness in a work of science, by no means detracted from the success of the novel. "Looking Backward" was written in an easy and pleasing style; it had the charm of originality, and touched a live cord in the heart of the nation. The book at once became the literary sensation of the day. Within a few years it reached a sale of over half a million copies in this country alone, and it was translated into almost all modern languages.

A "Bellamy Club" was organized in Boston soon after the appearance of the book, and in 1888 the club was renamed the "Nationalist Club." This was the beginning of the Nationalist movement. Other clubs patterned after the Boston

prototype were formed in all parts of the country, and in 1891 no less than 162 Nationalist clubs were reported to be in existence. The origin of the term "Nationalist" is accounted for by Bellamy in the following manner:

" . . . This is called Nationalism because it proceeds by the nationalization of industries, including the minor application of the same principle, the municipalization and state control of localized business. Socialism implies the socializing of industry. This may or may not be based upon the national organism, and may or may not imply economic equality. As compared with socialism, nationalism is a definition, not in the sense of opposition or exclusion, but of a precision rendered necessary by a cloud of vague and disputed implications historically attached to the former word."

The Nationalist clubs were principally organizations of propaganda. In politics they displayed but little activity, occasionally nominating independent candidates, but more frequently cooperating with the Populists.

The Populist movement originated in the State of Kansas, where a call for a convention of all the radical element with the view of forming a new political party was issued in April, 1890. The convention met in June of the same year, and was attended by ninety delegates, representing the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, Single-Tax clubs, and other reform organizations. The "People's Party of Kansas" was organized, and in the ensuing state elections it succeeded in electing a majority of the lower house of the state legislature. The movement spread rapidly to all Western, Middle, and some Southern States. In 1891 a national convention was held in Cincinnati. It was attended by no less than 1,418 delegates, who were, however, chiefly recruited from the States of Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska.

The next convention of the party, held at Omaha, Neb., in 1892, was of a more representative national character. Delegates were present from all parts of the country. An

independent presidential ticket was nominated and a party platform adopted.

The People's Party was chiefly an organization of and for the small farmers, and thrived principally in the agricultural West and middle West. But while the leaders and promoters of the movement recognized this character of their party, and in all their platforms and public declarations laid particular stress on the interests of the farming population, they appreciated that the party could not expect to attain significance in national politics without the aid of the industrial workers of the East, and they endeavored at all times to gain the support of the latter.

"Wealth belongs to him who creates it," declares the Omaha platform, "and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. . . . The interests of rural and civic laborers are the same; their enemies are identical."

In the presidential elections of 1892 the People's Party united over 1,000,000 votes on its candidate for President, General Weaver, and in 1894 its vote rose to 1,564,318. But in 1896, when Bryan was nominated by the Democratic Party on a platform favoring the free coinage of silver, the Populists refrained from nominating a rival candidate and indorsed Mr. Bryan's nomination. This was practically the death of the People's Party, and the further history of the movement is one of rapid disintegration. After the fusion of 1896 the greater part of the Populists practically remained an appendix to the Democratic Party, while the more radical elements, known as the Middle-of-the-Road Populists, seceded from the parent organization, forming a political party of their own. In the elections of 1900 their candidate for President of the United States, Mr. Barker, polled a little over 50,000 votes.

In connection with the reform movements above described the schools of Christian Socialism and Fabian Socialism must also be mentioned. Both schools appeared in the

United States at the period under consideration, and, while they did not influence the social and political views to the same extent as Nationalism or Populism, they still contributed in some degree to the formation of modern socialism in this country.

In the countries of Europe the school of Christian Socialism was in existence for more than half a century, and assumed a variety of forms and attributes. In the United States the movement made its first definite appearance in 1889, when the Society of Christian Socialists was organized in Boston; it soon branched out to several other cities, principally in the East.

The doctrines of Christian Socialism in the United States may be summed up in the following statement, taken from the declaration of principles of the society:

"I. We hold that God is the source and guide of all human progress, and we believe that all social, political, and industrial relations should be based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

"II. We hold that the present industrial and commercial system is not thus based, but rests rather on economic individualism," etc.

And the objects of the society were stated to be:

"(1) To show that the aim of socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity.

"(2) To awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of socialism; that, therefore, the Church has a definite duty upon this matter, and must, in simple obedience to Christ, apply itself to the realization of the social principles of Christianity."

The society never gained much influence, and after a struggling existence of a few years it disbanded.

The most prominent figures of the movement in this country were Rev. William D. P. Bliss, Prof. George D.

Herron, and Prof. R. T. Ely. Mr. Bliss was one of the organizers and most active workers of the Society of Christian Socialists. For several years he published *The Dawn*, a monthly magazine, in which he advocated the usual political measures of the socialist program along with the general principles of Christian Socialism. Professor Herron occupied the chair of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, and expounded his views in numerous books and pamphlets, in public lectures and from the chair. He was outspoken in his denunciations of the existing order of things, but steadfastly refrained from offering a positive program of action. His socialism was rather of an ethical than political nature. In later years Professor Herron declared himself unreservedly for revolutionary socialism, and he is now an active member of the Socialist Party.

In the summer of 1894 Professors Ely and Herron organized at Chautauqua, N. Y., the American Institute of Christian Sociology, which was designed to furnish literature and propaganda for the Christian Socialist movement among churches and colleges. Professor Ely was president, Professor Herron was principal of instruction, and Prof. J. R. Commons was secretary. The Institute had a considerable influence and literature, but finally failed through the protests of the clergy and of various college instructors against the radicalism of Professor Herron's teachings. The Christian Socialist League, of Chicago, organized by Edwin D. Wheelock, also exerted a measure of local influence. The resignation of Professor Herron from Iowa College practically closed the chapter of Christian Socialism in America.

The Fabian movement in the United States can hardly be considered more than an unsuccessful attempt to emulate the activity of the Fabian Society in England. The latter was organized in London in 1883 by a number of well-known socialists for the special purpose of promoting the educational side of the socialist movement. Its members deliv-

ered many lectures before clubs and societies, and published and circulated numerous tracts and pamphlets, among them the famous series of "Fabian Essays on Socialism," and brought about several important measures of municipal reform in London and in other cities of the United Kingdom.

The American Fabian Society was organized in 1895. It had branches in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and in several other places. The society issued a few tracts, and for some time published a monthly under the title, *The American Fabian*. The leading spirits of the movement were Rev. W. D. P. Bliss and Lawrence Gronlund.

All these, and other reform movements of that time, were but short-lived and fleeting, but they left their mark on the political life of the nation.

Owing to the rise and agitation of these movements thousands of American citizens in all parts of the Union acquired a taste for the study of social problems. They discarded their traditional views and severed their old party affiliations, and when the reform movements collapsed one after the other, many of their former votaries turned to socialism.

II.—THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

THE Socialist Labor Party was founded at a time when socialism in this country was an academic idea rather than a popular movement. The socialists were few in number, and consisted largely of men who had formed their social views and philosophy in European countries, principally in Germany. They were but little in touch with the American population, and moved almost exclusively within their own limited circle. This character of the movement reflected itself on their organization: the mode of administration and methods of procedure of the Socialist Labor Party were

those of a society of students and scholars rather than of a political party of the masses.

The organization was, however, quite sufficient for a period of about twenty years. The movement had during that time made but little progress among the native population, the party grew but slowly, and whatever new members it acquired were gradually assimilated.

But the events described in the preceding chapter worked a great change in the character of the socialist movement in America. The movement grew out of the narrow bounds within which it had been confined up to that time, and the Socialist Labor Party was fast becoming inadequate for the new requirements. Its highly centralized form of organization did not suit the political institutions and traditions of this country, and its dogmatic adherence to all canons of scientific socialism and strict enforcement of party discipline were not calculated to attract the masses of newly converted socialists. A radical change had become necessary if the party desired to maintain its hegemony in the socialist movement. But, unfortunately for the Socialist Labor Party, its leaders did not appreciate the situation. The prolonged activity within the vicious circle of their own had made them men of an extremely narrow vision. They had become used to regard their party as the privilege of the chosen few, and were rather reluctant to open it to the masses. They eyed all newcomers with ill-concealed suspicion, and refused to relax the rigidity of the party requirements in any way.

Nor was their attitude toward the trade-union movement of the country any more conciliatory. When the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was first organized and sprung as a surprise on the convention of 1896, some delegates had considerable misgivings as to the innovation. Fear was expressed that the organization would only serve to antagonize existing trade-unions, while accomplishing little itself, and that it would ultimately lead to an estrangement

between the party and the rest of the labor movement in the country.

But these fears were allayed by the repeated assurances of the spokesmen of the Alliance, that the latter did not intend to interfere with existing organizations, and would confine its activity to the task of organizing the unorganized.

As soon, however, as the convention adjourned, these promises were forgotten. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance accomplished hardly anything by way of organizing unorganized working men, and whatever little strength it ever attained was drawn from existing unions. The Alliance was besides not always very choice in its means and methods of organization, and it has even been charged with organizing strike breakers during the progress of some strikes. This course naturally provoked the hostility of organized labor toward the Alliance, and the hostility was extended to the Socialist Labor Party, which was considered practically identical with it. Thus the administration of the Socialist Labor Party within a few years succeeded in placing the party in a position of antagonism to organized labor, as well as to all socialistic and semisocialistic elements outside of the party organization.

This policy of the party officers was by no means always approved by the membership, and voices of protest were occasionally raised. But the opposition only served to accentuate the unbending attitude of the men at the head of the party. A relentless war was opened on everything within and without the party that did not strictly conform to their conception of orthodox socialist principles and tactics. The columns of the official party paper, *The People*, edited by Daniel De Leon, and the *Vorwaerts*, edited by Hugo Vogt, were filled from week to week with violent tirades against the "corrupt pure and simple labor-unions" and their "ignorant and dishonest leaders," and against the Populist, Nationalist, and other reform "fakirs."

Side by side with this crusade against the "fakirs" outside of the party a process of "purification" of the party members was inaugurated. Had the party officers heretofore been strict disciplinarians, they now became intolerant fanatics. Every criticism of their policy was resented by them as an act of treachery, every dissension from their views was decried as an act of heresy, and the offenders were dealt with unmercifully. Insubordinate members were expelled by scores, and recalcitrant "sections" were suspended with little ceremony. This "burlesque reign of terror," as Lucien Sanial subsequently characterized the *régime*, continued for several years, and in 1899 it reached such an acute stage that the members finally rose up in arms against it.

The first to sound the note of open rebellion was the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, which engaged in a controversy with the official party organs. The immediate occasion for the dispute was the *Volkszeitung's* adverse criticism of the party's attitude toward the trade-unions; but as the controversy continued, the whole range of the policy and methods of the party administration was drawn in. The discussion waxed more heated with every issue of the papers. The members took sides with one or the other of the combatants, and the socialists of the City of New York, where the headquarters of the party were located and *The People* and *Volkszeitung* were published, were divided into two hostile camps—the "administration faction" and the "opposition faction."

Under these circumstances the month of July, 1899, arrived, and with it the time for the election of new delegates to the general committee of "Section New York." This election was of more than local importance for the opposing factions. The convention of 1896 had delegated to the City of New York the power to elect and to recall the national secretary and the members of the national executive committee, and the latter in turn elected the editors of the party organs. Thus the New York socialists held the key to the

entire situation, and the election was to demonstrate the relative strength of the factions.

The contest was a spirited one all along the line, and its results were awaited with intense interest. The new general committee met on July 8th, and it became at once apparent that the opposition was in the majority. The committee did not proceed far in its business. The nomination of a temporary chairman precipitated a violent clash between the hostile camps, and the meeting broke up in disorder.

That very night the opposition delegates issued a call for a special meeting of the committee. The meeting was held on the 10th day of July, attended by the opposition delegates only, and it proceeded with the party administration in a summary manner. The offices of the national secretary, of the members of the national executive committee, and of the editor of *The People* were declared vacant, and their successors were then and there elected. Henry L. Slobodin, who had taken a very active part in the overthrow of the old administration, was elected national secretary, and guided the much troubled course of the party during the succeeding period with great skill and circumspection.

The war within the Socialist Labor Party was now on in earnest. The deposed party officers repudiated the acts of the general committee as invalid and continued in office. The party officers elected by the general committee insisted on the legality of their election, and proceeded to the discharge of their duties. Each side styled itself the Socialist Labor Party, each side had its own national committee, its own secretary and headquarters, and each of them published a paper called *The People*.

The situation was somewhat analogous to the one created just ten years earlier by the deposition of Rosenberg and his associates, except that in the present case the battle was more perseverant and intense.

In the beginning the administration party had decidedly the better end of the contest. The insurgents were practi-

cally confined to the City of New York, while the sections in the country knew little about the merits of the controversy, and many of them adhered to the old party officers on general principles. The latter, however, did not possess the requisite skill to follow up their advantage. Their dictatorial tone toward their own followers, and their policy of abuse toward their opponents, repelled the sections wavering in their allegiance between the two committees, and one by one these sections turned to the opposition.

This was the state of affairs when the general elections of 1899 approached. Each of the two factions had nominated a ticket, and each side claimed its ticket to represent the only regular nominations of the Socialist Labor Party. In the State of New York the contest was taken into the courts, which decided in favor of the faction headed by the old party officers.

This was a severe blow to the faction of the opposition. The faction had at that time undoubtedly the support of the large majority of the party members, some of the most prominent ones among them, and it had almost the entire party press on its side. The organization was building up steadily, and it soon regained in some quarters of the labor movement the sympathy which the party had forfeited through the perverse trade-union policy of its former officers. But with all that its legal existence and identity had always been enshrouded in much doubt, and now that the courts had decided adversely on its claims to the party name, the faction was thrown into a state of indescribable confusion. To put an end to the chaos, the national committee issued a call for a special convention of all sections supporting its administration. The convention was held in the city of Rochester, and the character of the gathering and the efficiency of the work accomplished by it exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. The convention was attended by fifty-nine delegates, and remained in session five consecutive days. All questions of principle, organizations, and policy were

subjected to a most searching scrutiny. The methods and tactics of the party were revised, and the party was reorganized on a basis more nearly in accord with the modern requirements of the movement.

Almost the first act of the Rochester convention was to repudiate the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and to proclaim its sympathy with the struggles of all trade-unions regardless of national affiliations.

The convention also adopted a new platform, which, with very few changes, remains the present platform of the Socialist Party, and enacted a new set of by-laws for the administration of the affairs of the party.

But by far the most momentous act of the Rochester convention was the adoption of the following resolution, paving the way for the unification of the party with the Social Democratic Party (see next chapter):

"The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Social Democratic Party of the United States.

"*Whereas*, The course of development of the socialist movement in the United States during the last few years has obliterated all difference of principle and views between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party, and both parties are now practically identical in their platform, tactics, and methods;

"*Whereas*, Harmonious and concerted action of all socialist elements of the United States is expedient for a successful campaign against the combined forces of capitalism;

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this convention that the interests of socialism will be best subserved by a speedy union of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party into one strong, harmonious, and united socialist party;

"*Resolved*, That we call upon the earnest and intelligent socialists of this country in the ranks of both parties to discard all petty ambitions and personal prejudices in the face

of this great purpose, and to conduct the negotiations for unity of both parties, not in the sense of two hostile camps, each negotiating for peace with a view of securing the greatest advantages to itself, but in the sense of equal parties, hitherto working separately for a common cause, and now sincerely seeking to provide a proper basis for honorable and lasting union for the benefit of that cause;

“Resolved, That for the purpose of effecting union between the two parties on the basis outlined, this convention appoint a committee of nine to act as a permanent committee on Socialist Union, until the question is definitely disposed of;

“Resolved, That the said committee be authorized to delegate a representative or representatives to the next national convention of the Social Democratic Party in order to convey this resolution to said party and to invite the said party to appoint a similar committee; and

“Resolved, That any treaty of union evolved by the joint committee on union, including the question of party name, platform, and constitution, be submitted to a general vote of both parties.”

The resolution was adopted by a vote of fifty-five to one, and the committee of nine, provided for by it, was forthwith elected.

Before adjournment the convention took up the nomination of candidates for the ensuing presidential campaign. Job Harriman, of California, a brilliant speaker and untiring worker, who had become widely known in party circles through his agitation on the Pacific coast, was nominated for the office of President of the United States, and Max Hayes, of Ohio, equally popular in the socialist and trade-union movement, was nominated for the office of Vice-President.

But in view of the pending negotiations for unity with the Social Democratic Party, the nominations were not consid-

ered final, and the committee on unity was authorized to make any changes in the ticket that might be required by the exigencies of the situation.

III.—THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE narrow policy of the Socialist Labor Party described in the preceding chapter had the double effect of disgusting many old-time workers in the movement who withdrew from the party in large numbers, and of making the organization unpopular to the majority of newly converted socialists.

Thus around the middle of the nineties of the last century a new socialist movement gradually sprang up outside of the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party. It was scattered all over the country and assumed the most variegated forms. It was grouped around such enterprises as the weekly papers of J. A. Wayland, *The Coming Nation*, and subsequently *The Appeal to Reason*, both of which reached a circulation unparalleled by any socialist publication in this country; it expressed itself in the foundation of socialist colonies, such as the Ruskin Cooperative Colony of Tennessee, and in the formation of a number of independent socialist and semi-socialist clubs and societies.

The movement, however, lacked clearness and cohesion, and stood sorely in need of an energetic and popular leader to collect the scattered elements and to weld them together into one organization. The man to accomplish that task finally appeared in the person of Eugene V. Debs.

Debs had always been a man of radical views on social questions, and his experience in the great Chicago strike had only served to intensify this radicalism. He utilized his enforced leisure in the Woodstock jail for the study of social problems and the theories of modern socialism, with the result that he left the jail with decided leanings toward socialism.

In the campaign of 1896 he still supported the candidacy

of Mr. Bryan, but in January, 1897, he publicly announced his conversion to socialism.

The American Railway Union had by this time practically ceased to exist, with the exception of a small group of men who remained true to Debs. This remainder of the once powerful organization was reorganized on political lines and decided to unite with the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth, a socialist organization of a utopian coloring, which had then recently been called into existence by *The Coming Nation*.

A joint convention of the two organizations was held in the city of Chicago on June 18, 1897, with the result that a new party, the SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA, was created.

The aims and views of the party were originally somewhat raw and indefinite. Its declaration of principles was substantially socialistic, but its main feature of activity was the promotion of a rather adventurous plan of colonization. The new scheme launched by the party was to colonize in some Western State, to capture the state government, and introduce a socialist *régime* within the limits of the State. A colonization committee, consisting of Col. R. J. Hinton, of Washington, D. C., W. P. Borland, of Michigan, and C. F. Willard, of Massachusetts, was appointed. Funds for the purchase of territory were raised, and in May, 1898, the committee announced that it had completed arrangements by which the party would acquire about 560 acres of land in the Cripple Creek region in Colorado for the sum of \$200,000, of which a cash payment of only \$5,000 was required.

The colonization schemes of the Social Democracy had opened the doors of the party to all varieties of social reformers, and even a number of prominent anarchists joined the organization in the hope of exploiting it for the propaganda of their theories.

But side by side with this movement the clear socialist element within the party grew in numbers and strength.

Many former members and several entire sections of the Socialist Labor Party joined the new organization, and these, together with some prominent leaders within the Social Democracy, headed by Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, Wis., inaugurated a movement to substitute ordinary socialist propaganda and politics for the colonization scheme of the party.

Under these circumstances the first national convention of the Social Democracy was held in Chicago on June 7, 1898. The convention was attended by seventy delegates, representing ninety-four branches of the party, and it became at once evident that a pitched battle was to be expected over the question of politics as against colonization.

The debate was opened on the report of the platform committee. Two reports were submitted, a majority report favoring the abandonment of the colonization scheme and the adoption of the usual methods of socialist propaganda, and a minority report advocating colonization as the most prominent feature of the activity of the party. The debate lasted until 2:30 o'clock in the morning, when a vote was taken, showing fifty-three in favor of the minority report and thirty-seven for the majority report. As soon as the vote was taken, the defeated minority withdrew from the convention hall in a body, in accordance with a prearranged plan, and the field was left clear to the colonization faction. The latter adopted its platform, elected its officers, and adjourned. The organization subsequently established two insignificant communistic colonies in the State of Washington, and quietly dropped out of existence.

In the mean while the thirty-seven bolting delegates met and called into life a new party under the name of "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA." Freed from the presence of the troublesome colonization advocates, the new party proceeded to eliminate all utopian elements from its platform. It organized on the lines of a socialist political party and elected a national executive board, consisting of

Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman, and Frederic Heath.

The following two years witnessed a rapid growth of the young party. The party nominated state or local tickets in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and California. In the fall elections of 1899 it elected the first socialist representatives in the Massachusetts state legislature—James F. Carey and Lewis M. Scates, and in December of the same year the Social Democrats of Haverhill, Mass., elected John C. Chase to the office of mayor of that city, while C. H. Coulter was elected mayor of Brockton, Mass., also on a Social Democratic ticket. The party also succeeded in electing to office a number of aldermen, councilmen, and school commissioners in several towns of Massachusetts and Wisconsin. When the first national convention of the party assembled in Indianapolis, on the 6th day of March, 1900, it claimed an enrolled membership of about 5,000.

The system of representation devised by the party was a rather novel one for political conventions. Each member had the right to append his signature to the credential of the delegate or proxy of his own choice, and each delegate had as many votes in the convention as the number of signatures attached to his credential.

The number of delegates who attended the convention was sixty-seven, and the total number of individual signatures attached to their credentials was 2,136.

The all-absorbing topic at the convention was the question of amalgamation with the Rochester wing of the Socialist Labor Party. On the second day of the session a committee of the latter, consisting of Max Hayes, of Ohio, Job Harri-man, of California, and Morris Hillquit, of New York, formally opened the negotiations. Their earnest plea for the unification of the socialist forces and their glowing description of the advantages which the movement as a whole would derive from the union were interrupted by round after round

of applause. The great majority of the delegates had come to the convention with their minds firmly made up on the subject. They needed no arguments or persuasion; they were enthusiastically for union, and urged immediate measures for the accomplishment of the object.

The enthusiastic desire for union without reserve or qualification was, however, confined to the mass of the delegates only. The party leaders were more cautious in the matter. The name of Socialist Labor Party had an unpleasant ring for them; they were somewhat apprehensive of the motives and sincerity of the new allies, and they proposed to surround the negotiations for unity with all possible safeguards. They consented to the appointment of a committee of nine to meet with the similar committee of the Socialist Labor Party and to evolve a plan of union as called for by the Rochester resolution; but they recommended that the results of the deliberations of the joint committee be submitted to a referendum vote of each party separately, so that if either of the parties should not approve of the plan as a whole it might reject it and thus frustrate the proposed union. They also insisted upon the retention of the name Social Democratic Party for the new organization.

These recommendations were the subject of a prolonged and heated debate, at the conclusion of which they were rejected by a vote of 1,366 against 770. A committee of nine was thereupon elected with full power to arrange the terms of union with the like committee of the Rochester faction. To seal the treaty of peace, a presidential ticket was nominated, with Eugene V. Debs, of the Social Democratic Party, for the office of President of the United States, and Job Harriman, of the Socialist Labor Party, for his running mate, with the understanding that the nominations would supersede those made at Rochester.

The joint conference committee of the two parties met on the 25th day of March, 1900, in the City of New York, and

the practical work of merging the two organizations now began in earnest.

The Social Democratic Party was represented by John C. Chase, James F. Carey, Margaret Haile, Frederic Heath, G. A. Hoehn, Seymour Stedman, William Butscher, and W. P. Lonergan. Victor L. Berger, who was also a member of the committee, did not attend.

The Socialist Labor Party faction was represented by Max Hayes, Job Harriman, Morris Hillquit, F. J. Sieverman, J. Mahlon Barnes, G. B. Benham, C. E. Fenner, W. E. White, and N. I. Stone.

The conference lasted two full days, and the questions of party name, constitution, candidates, and platform were discussed with much earnestness. The last two points were disposed of with practically no debate. The Indianapolis nominations were ratified, and the Rochester platform was readopted as the declaration of principles of the new party, while the "demands" formulated by the Social Democratic Party were appended to the document.

But the questions of party name and headquarters gave rise to prolonged and, at times, heated controversies. The representatives of the Social Democratic Party insisted upon the retention of their party name for sentimental reasons and on the ground of expediency, while the others urged the name of United Socialist Party as more expressive of the character of the new organization. A compromise was finally effected by the decision to submit both names to the vote of the combined membership of both parties.

The party headquarters were located in Springfield, Mass., and a provisional national committee of ten was created to be selected from the membership of the two parties in equal numbers. The work of the committee was on the whole harmonious, and when the joint meeting adjourned, the union of the two parties was practically accomplished save for the formality of submitting the results of the deliberations to a general vote of the members for ratification. But

the unexpected was to happen again. Hardly a week had passed since the members of the joint committee had closed their labors to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned, when the national executive board of the Social Democratic Party issued a manifesto, charging the Socialist Labor Party representatives with breach of faith, and calling upon the members of their party to repudiate the treaty of union.

The document provoked a storm of protests within the ranks of both parties, and gave rise to a prolonged and acrimonious feud between the adherents of the national executive board and the supporters of union. When the vote on the manifesto was finally canvassed, the officers of the Social Democratic Party declared that union had been rejected by the members of their party by a vote of 1,213 against 939, and that the party would hence continue its separate existence.

But this declaration by no means disposed of the controversy. The adherents of union within the ranks of the Social Democratic Party, the majority of its committee on unity among them, denied the legality of the procedure adopted by the board, and refused to recognize its authority to represent the party any longer. They went on voting on the treaty recommended by the joint committee on union, and the treaty having been ratified by the Rochester faction of the Socialist Labor Party and the pro-union faction of the Social Democratic Party, they proceeded to carry its provisions into effect.

Whether it was in the hope of disarming the anti-union elements or for any other reason, the name Social Democratic Party was adopted on the general vote, not only by the pro-union members of that party, but also by the overwhelming majority of the Socialist Labor Party members, and the new party consequently assumed that name. The climax of confusion in the socialist movement in this country was thus reached. The Socialist Labor Party as well as the Social Democratic Party were torn in twain. The

former maintained its headquarters in New York; the latter had one in Chicago and one in Springfield, each of these parties and factions and a separate set of national officers, and each was making war on the other. And, as if to emphasize the absurdity of the situation, the presidential elections drew near with the various socialist nominations in a state of indescribable chaos. The administration faction of the Socialist Labor Party had nominated a ticket of its own—Joseph F. Malloney, of Massachusetts, for President, and Val. Remmel, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.

The Rochester faction of the party had originally nominated Harriman and Hayes for its candidates, but, as related above, these nominations were abandoned for those of Debs and Harriman. The latter ticket, however, was nominated on the assumption that complete union between the Rochester faction and the Social Democratic Party was an assured fact. But now, when the negotiations for union had failed, the anti-union or Chicago faction found itself with Job Harriman, a member of a rival organization, on its own presidential ticket, while the pro-union or Springfield faction was in the same position with regard to its candidate for President, Eugene V. Debs. The warring factions of the Social Democratic Party decided upon the only course possible under the circumstances—the retention of the joint ticket and the maintenance of a tacit truce during the campaign. Notwithstanding this inauspicious situation, both wings of the Social Democratic Party conducted an energetic and enthusiastic campaign, and the vote polled for their joint ticket at this their first national campaign was 97,730, more than the Socialist Labor Party had ever succeeded in uniting on its candidates in its palmiest days.

The harmonious work of both factions of the Social Democratic Party for a joint ticket during the brief campaign had accomplished more toward effecting real union between them than all the prolonged negotiations of the past. The members had learned to know each other more closely, and

their vague feeling of mutual distrust was dispelled. After the campaign there was no more reason or excuse for continuing the separate existence of the two factions, and the Chicago board issued a call for a joint convention of all socialist organizations for the purpose of creating one united party. The Springfield faction, several independent local and state organizations, and, in fact, all socialist organizations, except the New York faction of the Socialist Labor Party, responded to the call. When the convention assembled in Indianapolis, on the 29th day of July, 1901, it was found that the organizations participating in it represented an enrolled membership of no less than 10,000. The system of representation was the same that prevailed at the preceding Indianapolis convention. One hundred and twenty-four delegates held 6,683 credentials from individual members. Of these, the Springfield faction was represented by 68 delegates, holding 4,798 credentials; the Chicago faction by 48 delegates, with 1,396 credentials; while three independent state organizations, with a total membership of 352, were represented by 8 delegates.

Mindful of the disappointing results of the labors of the former joint committee on union, the convention decided not to take any chances again, but to complete all arrangements for the final amalgamation of the organizations represented, then and there.

With this end in view, a new platform (see Appendix I) and constitution were adopted. The headquarters were removed from the seats of former troubles to St. Louis, and Leon Greenbaum, who had not figured very prominently in the former controversies and was acceptable to all parties concerned, was elected national secretary.

The convention was the largest and most representative national gathering of socialists ever held in this country. Among the delegates there were men who had been active in all phases of the socialist movement, and alongside of them men of prominence who had recently come into the

movement. The socialist organizations of Porto Rico were represented by a delegate of their own, while the presence of three negroes, by no means the least intelligent and earnest of the delegates, attested the fact that socialism had commenced to take root also among the colored race.

The composition of the convention also served to demonstrate how much the character of the socialist movement had changed during the last few years: Out of the 124 delegates no more than twenty-five, or about twenty per cent., were foreign-born; all the others were native Americans. Socialism had ceased to be an exotic plant in this country.

The convention had assembled as a gathering of several independent and somewhat antagonistic bodies; it adjourned as a solid and harmonious party.

The name assumed by the party thus created was the SOCIALIST PARTY.

IV.—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

THE socialist movement in the United States is to-day represented by two parties: the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party, which is also known politically as the Social Democratic Party in some States (notably New York and Wisconsin), owing to the peculiar requirements of the election laws of these States.

The Socialist Labor Party never recovered from the effects of the split of 1899. Altho the "administration faction" had gained a legal victory over the "faction of the opposition" in the litigation over the right to the use of the party name, its victory was of but little practical benefit. The great majority of organized and unorganized socialists had lost their confidence in the leadership of the party and turned their sympathies and support to the Socialist Party. And the further actions and policy of the Socialist Labor Party were by no means calculated to regain the lost confidence.

Its hostile attitude toward the trade-unions and its fanatic rigidity of discipline, which had provoked the open schism within its ranks, now became the sole excuse for its separate existence, and was intensified to ludicrousness.

In June, 1900, the party held a national convention in the City of New York, which lasted a full week. The proceedings of the convention were characterized by almost childish abuse of the seceders from the party, and of all "pure and simple" trade-unions, and the climax of hatred toward the latter was expressed in the following resolution adopted by a practically unanimous vote:

"If any member of the Socialist Labor Party accepts office in a pure and simple trade or labor organization, he shall be considered antagonistically inclined toward the Socialist Labor Party and shall be expelled. If any officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization applies for membership in the Socialist Labor Party, he shall be rejected."

In the presidential elections of 1900 the party's vote fell to 34,191 from 82,204 polled by it in the general elections of 1898. At the same time the process of "purification" went on within the party in an ever-accelerating rate; state organizations, "sections," and individual members alike were being expelled from the party for various acts of heresy, and as the influx of new members was but slow, the ranks of the party thinned steadily.

Information concerning the present membership of the Socialist Labor Party are very meager, but 3,000 is a generous estimate.

The party publishes a daily newspaper in the English language (*The People*) in the City of New York, and several weekly papers in foreign languages.

With no support from the labor movement and with a state of perpetual strife within its own ranks, the Socialist Labor Party is distinctly on the wane, and its ultimate disappearance from the political surface seems to be only a question of time.

In the mean while the Socialist Party has been progressing with large and rapid strides ever since the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

As this goes to press I am informed by Mr. William Mailly, national secretary of the party, that the latter has perfected state organizations in no less than thirty-four States, and that it has local organizations in all other States and Territories of the Union. The number of locals affiliated with the party is estimated to be about 1,200, and the total number of its enrolled members exceeds 20,000.

But the enrolled membership and formal organization of the Socialist Party are hardly a fair measure of its actual strength. To form an adequate idea of this we must also consider its political standing, its influence on the labor movement of the country, and its press.

As related in the preceding chapter, the party made its début in national politics with a vote of almost 100,000, cast for Debs and Harriman in 1900. This vote was materially increased in the spring and fall elections of the following year, but owing to the local character of these elections the vote was never fully reported or tabulated.

In the congressional elections of 1902, however, the vote of the Socialist Party, to the surprise of all, reached very closely on the quarter-million mark.

The Socialist Labor Party vote in the same elections was a little over 50,000.

A part of this unexpected success must, of course, be ascribed to the effects of the popular excitement produced in the summer and fall of that year by the prolonged and far-reaching strike of the Pennsylvania coal-miners. But it would be a mistake to consider the large socialist vote as purely accidental on account of that fact. The socialist gains were almost as much noticeable in places which, from their geographical location, were practically unaffected by the coal strike as they were within the immediate theater of the great labor contest.

Moreover, when the local spring elections of 1903 arrived and the strike sentiment had completely subsided, it was found that the socialist vote had not abated, but, on the contrary, had very substantially increased.

Nor would it be safe to draw an analogy between the present socialist vote and the votes of the various fleeting reform parties of the past.

The socialist vote differs from that of other political reform parties in several essential points. In the first place, it is not confined to any one particular section of the country. The main strength of the Populists, for instance, was in the West, that of the Greenbackers in the Middle West, while the United Labor Party drew its principal support from the East. The socialist vote, however, is pretty well distributed all over the country with an even and uniform preponderance in industrial districts, as should naturally be expected from the character of the movement.

The reform party votes, as a rule, swelled on to immense numbers in an incredibly short time, and dwindled down to insignificance as rapidly; but the socialist vote is of a comparatively slow but normal and steady growth. And it is, no doubt, this even distribution which accounts for the phenomenon that with 250,000 votes the Socialist Party has thus far not succeeded in electing its candidates to any important national or state office.

In 1848 the Free-Soil Party cast about 300,000 votes and elected a number of Congressmen, among them Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and in 1880 the Greenback Party with a similar vote sent eight representatives to the lower house of Congress. The Socialist Party with a vote exceeding the total combined votes of the States of Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Nevada, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wyoming, has not a single representative in the house of Congress, and only eight members of state legislatures—three in Massachusetts and five in Montana.

The party has, however, been more successful in local politics. During the last year it has elected its candidates for mayor in Brockton and Haverhill, two shoe manufacturing towns in the State of Massachusetts, and also in the towns of Sheboygan, Wis., and Anaconda, Mon. It has also elected about fifty of its candidates to the offices of aldermen or councilmen in a number of towns in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, Indiana, Montana, and Colorado, and a score or two of other municipal officers in the same places, and it is quite likely that the first practical application of socialism in this country will be found in the field of municipal reform.

Hardly less significant than its success at the polls are the gains made by the party in the trade-union movement. The growing sympathies of the trade-unions for the Socialist Party have in recent years been manifested in a variety of ways, but on no occasion were they so clearly demonstrated as in the last national conventions of the two largest bodies of organized labor in this country.

In the month of June, 1902, the Western Labor-Union, a confederation of most trade-unions of the Rocky Mountain States and Territories, with a total membership of about 150,000, met in Denver in annual convention. At the same time and in the same city two of the strongest organizations affiliated with that body, the Western Federation of Miners and the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, also held their annual conventions. The principal topic of discussion at all three conventions was the relation of the organizations represented by them to the Socialist Party, and the result of their deliberation was that all three declared themselves in favor of independent political action of the working class, indorsed the Socialist Party as the representative of the working class in the field of politics, and adopted the platform of the party.

The Western Labor-Union at the same time rejected the overtures of the American Federation of Labor for the

amalgamation of the two bodies on account of the conservative views of the Federation and changed its own name to "American Labor-Union," thus indicating its intention to extend its operations beyond the limits of the West. The organization is almost as active in the socialist movement as it is in that of the trade-unions, and its official organ, *The American Labor-Union Journal*, is the advocate of both movements alike.

In the month of November of the same year the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at New Orleans. The socialist delegates introduced a resolution indorsing socialism, as they had been doing at all previous conventions of the Federation. The resolution this time read as follows:

"*Resolved*, That this twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system."

The resolution provoked a lengthy and heated debate, and was finally rejected by a vote of 3,744 to 3,344.

The resolution had not aimed at any practical measures, and whether it was accepted or rejected was of no practical importance to either side. But it was a test of the strength of the socialist sentiment in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, and the fact that almost a full half of all the votes of the convention was cast in favor of it was conclusive proof of the rapid progress of socialism within the organization.

Another strong proof of the spread of the socialist sentiment is the development of the party press. In bygone years the Socialist Labor Party found it hard, and at times even impossible, to maintain a single weekly paper in the English language. Now the Socialist Party is represented in the press by four monthly magazines: *The International Socialist Review*, *Wilshire's Magazine*, *The Comrade*, and

The Southern Socialist, and by twenty weeklies in the English language. The latter are distributed as follows: CALIFORNIA, *The California Socialist*, *The Los Angeles Socialist*, and *The People's Paper*; COLORADO, *The Alliance of the Rockies*; ILLINOIS, *The Chicago Socialist*; IDAHO, *The Idaho Socialist*; INDIANA, *The Toiler*; IOWA, *The Iowa Socialist*; KANSAS, *The Appeal to Reason*; KENTUCKY, *The Newport Socialist*; MINNESOTA, *The Referendum*; MISSOURI, *The Coming Nation* and *St. Louis Labor*; NEW YORK, *The Worker*; OKLAHOMA, *The Oklahoma Socialist*; OHIO, *The Ohio Socialist*; PENNSYLVANIA, *The Erie People*; WASHINGTON, *The Socialist* and *The New Times*; and WISCONSIN, *The Social Democratic Herald*.

Of these, *The Appeal to Reason* alone is reputed to have a circulation exceeding 250,000.

Of the German party papers three are dailies: *The New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, and *Cincinnati Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and seven are weeklies.

The party is also represented by one newspaper in each of the following languages: French (*L'Union des Travailleurs*, Charleroi, Pa.), Polish (*Robotnik*, Chicago), Bohemian (*Spravedlnost*, Chicago), Italian (*Lo Scalpellino*, Barre, Vt.), Swedish (*Arbetarn*, New York), Hungarian (*Nepszava*, Cleveland, O.), and Jewish (*Forward*, New York).

Plans for the establishment of daily papers in the English language in the most important cities of the United States are being seriously discussed in Socialist Party circles, and a beginning is soon to be made in New York, where the party is now engaged in raising funds for the purpose.

Outside of the strict party publications enumerated above there is a large number of trade-union journals and radical papers and magazines of all kinds which are more or less outspoken in their sympathies for socialism, and in political campaigns support the candidates of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Campaign Book of 1900* enumerated over

* Published by C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

thirty of such publications, and the number is no doubt much larger to-day.

Thus the socialist movement in the United States has grown immensely in extent and influence during the last few years. It has penetrated into the broad masses of the American working men, it is gaining adherents among other classes of the population, and rapidly invading all parts of the country. And still the movement has apparently by far not yet reached the full measure of its development. New gains in members and supporters, new acquisitions in the press, and new victories at the polls are being reported steadily, and if all indications do not deceive, socialism will be a potent factor in this country within a very few years.

APPENDICES

I

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of international socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the Government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical, and social inferiority, political subservience, and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our

entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

- I. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as

of all industries, controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness, and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public-ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

II

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises, and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land, and of all the means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the cooperative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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